SUSQUEHANNA UNIVERSITY
SELINSGROVE, PA.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DX.

MAY, 1899.

THE WAR WITH SPAIN.—I.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES, COMMANDING THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

THE recent war with Spain was the logical outcome of the conditions which existed in Cuba. It was evident, not only to this country but to all the world, that Spanish rule on this side of the ocean must necessarily cease, if peace and international harmony were to be preserved. The great Spanish nation of the sixteenth century, with its rich possessions encircling the globe, had so decayed in the nineteenth century as to be unfit in every way, physically and financially, to control not only Cuba but her remaining colonies. One by one, through the same misrule, Mexico and the South American States had found her yoke unbearable and had gained their independence, Spain thus losing these vast possessions and the large income derived from them. Cuba, termed "The Ever Faithful Isle," and Porto Rico remained. For more than a century, Spain had been a dying nation; while the effect of her rule, or rather misrule, in Cuba was a menace to the peace and good order not only of this country but of every other country having any relations with the island.

While Spain was in possession of Florida, a succession of disagreeable events had occurred in connection with our commerce in the Gulf of Mexico, which involved great loss to us, and which so marred the relations between Spain and the Republic that,

Copyright, 1899, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

after much controversy, Florida was finally ceded to the United States—largely as a matter of compensation to our country.

The Ten Years' War, with all its cruelty and horrors, had ceased purely through the physical exhaustion of the insurgents, only to be recommenced, with renewed vigor, with the insurrection which had been in progress two years at the outbreak of the late war. The voice of civilization demanded intervention. The "Virginius" affair, involving the massacre of several of our citizens and others, had not faded from the memory of our people; nor was the final adjudication of that incident satisfactory. The summary execution of the victims, under the circumstances, was directly contrary to treaty obligations and to justice.

The character of the war waged by Spain against the Cuban insurgents was cruel, and often barbarous, despite the warnings given by our nation that it should be conducted in a humane manner. It was becoming a war of extermination. "The Pearl of the Antilles" was ruined, and its population reduced many hundreds of thousands by death, in many cases from starvation. With a forbearance that, perhaps, no other nation would have shown, we had preserved the strictest neutrality at great cost, with much loss in our trade relations.

On the 15th of February, 1898, the world was startled and horrified by the blowing up of the battleship "Maine," of the United States Navy, in the harbor of Havana, with the loss of 253 of her crew. It does not matter now how this was done; whether or not any Spanish official was concerned in the destruction of this magnificent ship, nor how it occurred; nevertheless, the disaster caused great consternation throughout our land, and from that moment Spanish rule in Cuba was doomed. The whole nation with one voice demanded its termination. Party feelings were forgotten, and, on March 9th, Congress appropriated fifty millions of dollars for national defence. With this large amount, the executive department was authorized to make preparations for the impending war. The Navy Department succeeded in securing large quantities of munitions of war, including a considerable number of rapid fire guns and ammunition, some third or fourth rate vessels, and quite a number of others that were used as an auxiliary naval force; yet, such priceless jewels are the modern appliances of war that, even with the large amount of gold available, our Government was unable to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

purchase a single battleship, a first-class cruiser or a modern high-power gun of the greatest destructive power. It requires years to build these great engines of war, and they cannot be obtained in an emergency.

On the 25th of April, Congress declared war, making the declaration that war had existed from the 21st of April.

Congress had been much more generous in its appropriations for the Navy than for the Army, and much progress had already been made in the construction of battleships and cruisers. At the time of the breaking out of the war, indeed, the Navy was in fairly effective condition, except for a shortage in ammunition, and it proved to be in every way superior to the Spanish navy. The magnificent results of the operations and the splendid record of the Navy during the war were eminently satisfactory.

Although, for many years, Congress had been urged to make appropriations for the adequate protection of our seacoasts, it had been so tardy in doing so that, when the war broke out, the condition of our coast defences was far from satisfactory. A very few modern guns of high power had been placed in position. It is true that much work was in progress, but it takes years to construct guns and to build emplacements for them, so that at that time it required many months still to accomplish the necessary results. Suddenly attacked by a first-class naval power, most of our seaports would have been practically defenceless.

The Army, of 25,000 men, was doing duty in various parts of the country, where for many years it had paved the way for the advance of civilization, and had afforded constant protection to the citizens on the frontier. It was, as far as practicable, well trained and in excellent condition. It was fairly well armed and equipped, and it was ready for any emergency, its officers and men having been hardened by service and training in the West. It was, as far as intelligence, physical excellence, discipline and devotion to duty are concerned, unexcelled by any military body of equal numbers in the world. Such a force, however, was not even sufficient to have properly guarded our seacoasts, in the event of a war with a strong naval power.

The Militia, composed of the National Guards of the several States, was, as a rule, inefficient, and, as a body, could practically be disregarded. Its arms and equipment were obsolete, and unfit for use by troops fighting an army properly organized and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

equipped. Never, in the history of the country, was the necessity so obvious to the people for proper legislation for the re-organization of the regular Army, as well as of the National Guard. Smallarms using smokeless powder had been manufactured for the use of the regular troops, but there was not a sufficient reserve supply of these arms to equip even the small army called into service at the time of its mobilization. Our field artillery, our siege guns and all our heavier guns were constructed for, and used, black powder. This in time of action proved to be a great disadvantage; and, in fact, the regiments of volunteers which were present with our Army in Cuba had to be withdrawn from the firing line on account of the obsolete firearms with which they were armed, while the field artillery was subject to the same disadvantage. Had our field artillery been of modern type, using smokeless powder, there is no question that its proper employment would have produced much more effective results. The same disadvantage was experienced by the Navy during its attack on the fortifications at San Juan, Porto Rico, when the smoke from the guns to a great extent prevented efficient firing.

It is safe to say that, with an Army of 75,000 men properly equipped, at the time of the declaration of war, peace could have been secured without requiring a single volunteer to leave the country, and thus the necessity of the enormous volunteer army, and the expense and inconvenience incident to its organization and maintenance, could have been avoided. In fact, only 52,000 men were landed on Spanish soil before the peace protocol was signed.

The President was authorized to call for volunteers by Act of Congress approved April 22, 1898, and, under the Act approved April 26, 1898, authority was given to increase the regular Army to 62,527 men, while the Act approved May 11, 1898, authorized the enlistment of 10,000 "immunes", to be organized into ten regiments, and of 3,500 engineers, to be organized into a brigade of three regiments.

In the volunteer act of April 22d, there was the following provision: "The President may authorize the Secretary of War to organize companies, troops, battalions, or regiments, possessing special qualifications, from the nation at large, not to exceed three thousand men, under such rules and regulations, including the appointment of the officers thereof, as may be prescribed by the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Secretary of War;" and under that authority the 1st, 2d and 3d regiments of Volunteer Cavalry were organized.

The first two acts, going into effect almost at the same time, had a bad effect upon the enlistment of the regular Army up to its authorized strength. Volunteers naturally preferred their own organizations complete, and it thus became difficult to enlist men in the regular service, which it was most essential to have rapidly brought up to its authorized strength. Enlistments, therefore, were necessarily slow, while at the same time most of the recruits thus received were utterly untrained and unfitted for immediate service. It was decided to permit the regiments of the National Guard to go into the service practically as they existed at the time, but they were not so mustered in. A large percentage of the trained officers and men, either through business and professional obligations or for other reasons, were unable to go and were replaced by men untrained and unfitted for the service—in some cases, it is stated, not over one out of three going with their regiments. With such a condition of affairs, the difficulty of getting an effective force into the field, properly trained and equipped, was considerable. A great rush was made for appointments to commissions in this volunteer army. Many officers were unfit for the positions given them, thus adding materially to the delay in bringing the force to its necessary state of discipline and effectiveness.

I had previously recommended that 50,000 volunteers should be immediately called for, who were to be thoroughly equipped; and, shortly afterwards, that 40,000 more should be enlisted, to act as reserves.

On the 23d of April, the President called for 125,000 volunteers, and, on the 25th of May, he made a further call for 75,000 more. These, with the 10,000 immunes, 3,500 engineers, and the troops "possessing special qualifications", added to the regular Army brought up to its full strength, gave a total force of 278,000 men.

In order to secure a proper uniformity in equipment, and to promote the efficiency of the troops, the following letter was written and orders published:

Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, D. C., April 26, 1898.

SIR: I regard it of the highest importance that the troops called into service by the President's proclamation be thoroughly equipped,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

organized, and disciplined for field service. In order that this may be done with the least delay, they ought to be in camp approximately sixty days in their States, as so many of the States have made no provision for their State militia, and not one is fully equipped for field service. After being assembled, organized, and sworn into service of the United States, they will require uniforms, tentage, complete camp equipage, arms, and ammunition, and a full supply of stationery, including blank books and reports for the Quartermaster's, Commissary, Medical, and Ordnance Departments. They will also require complete equipment of ordnance, quartermaster's, commissary, and medical supplies, hospital appliances, transportation, including ambulances, stretchers, etc. The officers and noncommissioned officers will have to be appointed and properly instructed in their duties and responsibilities, and have some instruction in tactical exercises, guard duties, etc., all of which is of the highest importance to the efficiency and health of the command. This preliminary work should be done before the troops leave their States. While this is being done, the general officers and staff officers can be appointed and properly instructed, large camps of instruction can be judiciously selected, ground rented, and stores collected. At the end of sixty days the regiments, batteries, and troops can be brigaded and formed into divisions and corps, and proper commanding generals assigned, and this great force may be properly equipped, molded, and organized into an effective army with the least possible delay.

Very respectfully,

NELSON A. MILES,
Major-General Commanding.

The Secretary of War.

General Orders,
No. 54.

Headquarters of the Army,
Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, May 25, 1898.

The following standard of supplies and equipment for field service is published for the information and guidance of troops in the military service of the United States. The allowance is regarded as the minimum for field service:

Headquarters of an army corps.—Three wagons for baggage, etc., or 8 pack mules; 1 two-horse wagon; 1 two-horse spring wagon; 10 extra saddle horses for contingent wants; 2 wall tents for commanding general; 1 wall tent for every two officers of his staff.

Headquarters of a division.—Two wagons for baggage, etc., or 5 pack mules; 1 two-horse spring wagon; 1 two-horse wagon; 5 extra saddle horses for contingent wants; 1 wall tent for commanding general; 1 wall tent for every two officers of his staff.

Headquarters of a brigade.—One wagon for baggage, or 5 pack mules; 1 two-horse spring wagon; 2 extra saddle horses for contingent wants; 1 wall tent for the commanding general; 1 wall tent for every two officers of his staff.

Allowance of transportation for regiment of cavalry, 49 wagons or 144 pack animals.

Allowance of transportation for battery light artillery, 4 wagons.

Allowance of transportation for regiment of infantry, 25 wagons.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Supplies to be carried in wagons per company: Ten days' field rations per man; 100 rounds of ammunition per soldier; 250 pounds of officers' baggage and supplies; tentage; grain for animals; utensils for each company mess, not to exceed 350 pounds for each troop, battery, or company; horseshoes, nails, tools, and medicine for cavalry horses, not to exceed 300 pounds; to each soldier or civilian employee (compactly rolled in one piece of shelter tent) 1 blanket, 1 poncho and 1 extra suit of undergarments.

Whenever the amount of rations or grain varies from the above, the weight to be carried per six-mule wagon may be increased or diminished, but should not exceed 4,000 pounds, and for four-mule wagon 3,000 pounds, and if possible should be less per wagon.

Whenever obtainable on line of march, full forage will be allowed all animals, the rate of purchase to be regulated by the quartermaster's department.

To be carried on the person or horse: One overcoat, 1 piece of shelter tent, 50 rounds of rifle or carbine, and 24 rounds of revolver ammunition.

Supplies to be carried on pack mules for one troop of cavalry: Five days' field rations per man; 100 rounds of ammunition per soldier.

The utensils for each troop of cavalry must not exceed 350 pounds.

The weight of load per aparejo must never exceed 250 pounds, and should, if possible, be less than 200 pounds.

Troop of cavalry, company of infantry, or light battery.

	Troop of cavalry. Lbs.	Company of infantry. Lbs.	Light battery. Lbs.
Field rations, 10 days: Cavalry, 100 men; infantry, 106; artillery, 125	3,640	3,858	4,550
Ammunition, 100 rounds: Cavalry, 100 men; infantry, 106 men	725	769	....
Officers' baggage and supplies	250	250	250
Tentage (7 conical wall for cavalry and infantry, each: 9 for light battery)	854	854	1,098
Grain for animals, 10 days, 6 pounds: Cavalry, 115; infantry, 12; artillery, 126	6,900	720	7,560
Utensils for each company mess	350	350	350
Horseshoes, nails, tools, and medicines for cavalry and artillery horses	300	....	325
Soldiers' baggage: Each 1 blanket, 1 poncho, 1 extra suit of undergarments, and 1 piece shelter tent	1,662	1,761	2,078
Total	14,681	8,562	16,211

By command of Major-General Miles:

H. C. CORBIN, Adjutant-General.

General Orders,
No. 57.

Headquarters of the Army,
Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, May 30, 1898.

After a prolonged period of peace our Army is once more called upon to engage in war in the cause of justice and humanity. To bring the military forces to the highest state of efficiency and most speedily accomplish what is expected should be the earnest effort and call forth the best energies of all its members of whatsoever station.

The laws and regulations which govern military bodies in civilized

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

countries have been developed to their present perfection through the experience of hundreds of years, and the faithful observance of those laws and regulations is essential to the honor and efficiency of the Army.

All authority should be exercised with firmness, equity, and decorum on the part of superiors, and should be respected by implicit obedience and loyal support from subordinates.

Every officer of whatever grade will, so far as may be in his power, guard and preserve the health and welfare of those under his charge. He must labor diligently and zealously to perfect himself and his sub ordinates in military drill, instruction, and discipline; and above all, he must constantly endeavor, by precept and example, to maintain the highest character, to foster and stimulate that true soldierly spirit and patriotic devotion to duty which must characterize an effective army. The Major-General Commanding confidently trusts that every officer and soldier in the service of the Republic, each in his proper sphere, will contribute his most zealous efforts to the end that the honor and character of the Army may be preserved untarnished, and its best efforts crowned with success.

This order is given upon a day sacred to the memory of the heroic dead, whose services and sacrifices afford us example and inspiration, and it is expected that all will be fully impressed with the sacred duty imposed upon the Army by the Government of our beloved country.

By command of Major-General Miles:

H. C. CORBIN, Adjutant-General.

The difficulty of obtaining clothing and equipment for so many men was soon apparent. In fact, the canvas and other articles necessary for these equipments had not at that time been manufactured, and it would take a long time to supply them; while even the cartridges necessary to fight battles with were not in the possession of the government. Had our troops been available for immediate service, this fact alone would have rendered such service impossible.

Much time was necessarily lost for these reasons, affording Spain the opportunity to concentrate her troops in Cuba and Porto Rico, to supply them with food and munitions of war, to take steps to strengthen the defences of her seaports, and to render them as able as possible to withstand a siege; all of which things were done as far as lay in the power of such a Government.

On the 15th of April, the regular troops were ordered to be mobilized, the infantry being directed to proceed to Tampa, Mobile and New Orleans, and the cavalry and light artillery to Chickamauga. A portion of the infantry, however, was afterwards stopped at Chickamauga and went into camp there. These places were selected, as they were regarded as the most convenient points from which troops could be moved for an offensive cam-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

paign in Cuba, which it was intended to commence as soon as possible. The work of equipping and organizing the troops was hastened with all possible speed. This, however, was necessarily slow. Efforts were made to purchase supplies abroad, with only partial success, as supplies of this kind, owing to the great demand the world over in these days of large standing armies, were difficult to obtain.

The history of warfare shows that operations beyond the sea are at best most difficult to organize and to carry on successfully. With the exception of the expedition of General Scott during the Mexican War, and our limited experience in the War of the Rebellion, we had had no experience, and we were in every way utterly unprepared in the way of transports and appliances for embarking and disembarking artillery, transportation, horses, etc., which, when required to be done at difficult points, and when the landing is contested by an enemy, are matters of great difficulty, requiring exact and full preparation to be successful. Transports had to be purchased or hired and put in condition for the use of troops, animals, stores, etc. The climate of Cuba and Porto Rico being necessarily hot and enervating, and storms and hurricanes being liable to occur in the season during which these operations were to be carried on, it was of the utmost importance, for the safety and health of the troops, that proper arrangements should be made for feeding and clothing them, and that this object should have the most solicitous attention from the authorities.

The lessons taught by the expeditions made by the British in this section were of immense value. San Juan, in Porto Rico, had been attacked by Sir Ralph Abercrombie in 1795, unsuccessfully. He stated that the expedition had been undertaken too lightly, that he had found Porto Rico well supplied, and that there was powerful artillery there. Havana had been besieged in 1762 by a large fleet, under Admiral Pocock, of the British Navy, and a force of about 15,000 men under Lord Albemarle. This force was landed on the 5th of June in the same year. Havana surrendered after a siege on the 13th day of August. It had been necessary to effect the reduction of the works, which were very strong, especially the Morro Castle, by regular approaches, and under very unfavorable circumstances. In this attack, about 5,000 troops from New England were used, yet two of the trans-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ports carrying them over were captured by the French, who were also at war with England at that time, about 500 of the Americans being taken with them. The losses of the British in this campaign were far greater from disease than from battle, being in all between 1,700 and 1,800 men, while the Spanish force opposed to them was about 28,000, or about twice the strength of the British. It is said, however, that at one time almost half the British force was on the sick report.

In 1553, the French occupied Santiago, evacuating it afterwards on the payment by the Spanish of $80,000, as a ransom. In October, 1662, a British fleet appeared off Santiago, and 900 men were landed at Aguadores, who, although opposed by the Spanish, marched on and seized Santiago. In July, 1741, a British fleet, under Admiral Vernon, sailed to Guantanamo, and a force of 5,000 men under General Wentworth, of the British Army, was landed there.

At the commencement of the recent war, the general impression was that the Spanish were much stronger on the sea than they proved to be. In fact, their want of energy was most remarkable. Even with the vessels that they had, handled by such sailors as the British or our own, they could have done untold damage to us. With their fleets free to act and their whereabouts unknown, the embarkation of a large number of troops at best was hazardous. Good judgment demanded that, before such operations should be commenced, these fleets should be destroyed or captured, and it was my opinion that no extended movement should take place until this was done, as was indicated in the following letter which I wrote to the Secretary of War:

Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, D. C., April 18, 1898.

SIR: Referring to my former letters concerning healthful camps for the troops and the uncertainty of Congress requiring an army to move to Cuba at this season of the year, I would respectfully call attention to the letter of the Surgeon-General of the Army, dated Washington, March 25, of this year, as to the danger of putting an army in Cuba during what is known as the "rainy" or "sickly" season. That opinion is also confirmed by reports of Dr. James Guiteras, of Philadelphia, a well-known authority on yellow fever, and others.

In my opinion it is extremely hazardous, and I think it would be injudicious, to put an army on that island at this season of the year, as it would undoubtedly be decimated by the deadly disease, to say nothing of having to cope with some 80,000 troops, the remnant of 214,000, that have become acclimated, and that are equipped with 183 guns.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And still another element of extreme danger would be to place an army there with the possibility of our own Navy not being able to keep the waters between our own territory and that island clear of hostile ships or fleets.

By mobilizing our force and putting it in healthful camps and using such force as might be necessary to harass the enemy and doing them the greatest injury with the least possible loss to ourselves, if our Navy is superior to theirs, in my judgment, we can compel the surrender of the army on the Island of Cuba with very little loss of life and possibly avoid the spread of yellow fever over our own country.

There is still time, if this is favorably considered, to put a small force of regular troops, number approximately 18,000 men, in healthful camps until such time as they can be used on the Island of Cuba with safety.

Very respectfully,

NELSON A. MILES,
Major-General Commanding.

The Secretary of War.

The plan of campaign was carefully considered. The wet season, which would be especially dangerous to the lives of those not acclimated, and would render the movements of troops more difficult, was near at hand. It was utterly impossible to organize an army and equip it properly before that season commenced. Spain's army in Cuba was strong, well organized, and seasoned after long fighting with the insurgents. I was ordered, however, on May 9th, to take 70,000 men to Cuba, for the purpose of commencing hostilities immediately, and I sent the necessary orders for the movement of the advance corps, and instructions as to its landing on the north coast of Cuba; and supplies for ninety days for the men and thirty days for the animals were ordered concentrated at Tampa, Florida. It is with great reluctance that one hesitates to accept the command of an army of that magnitude in the field; yet, knowing the condition of the troops, the strength of the enemy, and the near approach of the sickly season in a district infested with yellow fever, I considered it my duty not only to the troops, whose lives must necessarily be sacrificed, but to the country, to explain fully to the highest authority the serious objections to such a movement at that time, and also to express my regret that I felt called upon to state such objections. The army was enthusiastic, composed of the best young men of the land, brave and resolute, but, outside of the regular regiments, not properly instructed and very insufficiently equipped, as far as proper clothing, tentage, camp equipage and transportation, hospital supplies, and all other munitions of war were concerned.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The most serious objection, however, to the movement of such an army, but partly organized, to encounter an enemy well equipped and acclimated, was the fact that, after assembling the amount of ammunition required by the troops going to Manila, and leaving a small amount for the troops necessary to guard the Atlantic coast, supporting the batteries, and to protect it against the possibility of any force landing on our shores, there was not ammunition enough left in the United States to last an army of 70,000 men in one hour's serious battle. Although the cartridge factories were making the only kind of ammunition that could be used by the troops with the Springfield and Krag-Jörgensen rifles, it was impossible for them to manufacture a sufficient amount to equip an army of the size mentioned to encounter a foreign army of equal strength in less than sixty days. These facts I reluctantly presented, and it was as reluctantly decided that the army must not move until it was ready. The feeling at that time in the country was one of impatience, amounting almost to impetuosity, and the cry of "On to Havana" was similar to that of "On to Richmond" in June of 1861.

In the public journals of that time may be found the following statement from myself in regard to this vital question:

"Regarding the matter of invading Cuba, General Miles says: 'With regard to the invasion of Cuba, I have nothing to say, except that the United States will in due time bring Cuba under its control by judicious methods and without useless waste of life. The United States is too great, too strong and too powerful to commit any foolish act in connection with the proposed invasion. As for myself, I have only to say that no officer is fit to command the troops who from any motive whatever would needlessly risk the life of a single soldier either from disease or the bullets of the enemy. I have never sacrificed the lives of the men under my command, and I do not propose to subject them to any unnecessary risks in the present campaign.' "

With a properly equipped army ready for action before the bad season set in, we could have divided Cuba into two or more sections, occupying the greater portion of the country, placing the troops in healthful localities, thus enabling the insurgents to organize and become thoroughly equipped, and simplifying the problem; and, with the Spanish Navy once cleared from the seas, and the coast thoroughly patrolled by our vessels, the Spanish forces must have yielded in a few months. The investment of Havana could have been effected at our leisure, and that city forced to surrender, in all probability, with inconsiderable loss.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Troops not being ready, and as the necessary army would not be available for at least two months at best, it was decided to send smaller expeditions to the coast of Cuba and supply the insurgents with arms, ammunition and rations. Several expeditions were organized and sent out with this object in view—those organized under Col. Hall, Capt. J. J. O'Donnell, Lieut. Crofton and Capt. Dorst with good results, a large amount of arms, ammunition and other supplies being successfully distributed. In addition to his other expeditions, on May 9th, 1898, Captain Dorst left Tampa for Cuba. Going to Key West, he thence sailed north and passed to the north side of the island of New Providence, thence south to the northeast coast of Cuba, going into the small harbor of Banes, which had all the time been held by the Cuban insurgents. He remained there for five days, and succeeded in landing 7,500 rifles, a million cartridges, 5,000 uniforms and a steamerload of supplies. This was a great boon to General Garcia's troops, who had been valiantly contending against upwards of 30,000 Spanish troops located in the eastern portion of Cuba.

Another expedition, much stronger, to consist of 5,000 or 6,000 men, with a large amount of supplies, was directed to be organized and placed under the command of General William R. Shafter. This expedition was to have landed on the south coast of Cuba and, strongly convoyed by war vessels, was to form a base of supplies for the insurgents. Important results were expected from it, and its organization was carried on as rapidly as possible; but shortly before it was ready to sail, information was received that Cervera's fleet had left Spain. This rendered the movement of the expedition very hazardous, besides which the Navy needed all its ships of war to meet the enemy's fleet.

On the 30th of May, it was finally ascertained that the Spanish fleet had taken refuge in the harbor of Santiago, and was there blockaded. In view of the supposed strength of the defences of the harbor and the presence of mines in the entrance, the Navy reported it impossible to enter and destroy this fleet, unless assisted by an army sufficiently strong to dislodge the troops guarding the entrance, they being thus enabled to take up the mines. The expedition above referred to was abandoned, and it was decided to organize another one of sufficient size to accomplish, in conjunction with our fleet, the capture or destruction of that of the enemy in the harbor of Santiago. General Shafter, being then the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

senior general officer at Tampa, was designated to command this expedition.

Urgent despatches came from Admiral Sampson, stating the necessity of immediately sending a force to capture the garrison. On the 6th of June, he reported that he had silenced the forts and that "if 10,000 men were here, city and fleet could be ours within forty-eight hours. Every consideration demands immediate army movement. If delayed, city will be defended more strongly by guns taken from fleet."

The following day General Shafter was directed by the Secretary of War to sail immediately.

Later, on the same day, the same authority directed him, by order of the President, to sail at once with what force he had ready, provided it was 10,000 strong.

On the 30th of May, I left Washington for Tampa, arriving there early on the morning of June 1st.

In order to utilize as far as possible the assistance of the Cuban insurgent forces in Eastern Cuba, I sent the following communication to General Garcia on the 2nd of June:

Headquarters of the Army,
In the Field, Tampa, Fla., June 2, 1898.

DEAR GENERAL: I am very glad to have received your o cers, General Enrique Collazo and Lieut. Col. Carlos Hernandez, the latter of whom returns to-night with our best wishes for your success.

It would be a very great assistance if you could have as large a force as possible in the vicinity of the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, and communicate any information, by signals, which Colonel Hernandez will explain to you, either to our navy or to our army on its arrival, which we hope will be before many days.

It would also assist us very much if you could drive in and harass any Spanish troops near or in Santiago de Cuba, threatening or attacking them at all points, and preventing, by every means, any possible reenforcement coming to that garrison. While this is being done, and before the arrival of our army if you can seize and hold any commanding position to the east or west of Santiago de Cuba, or both, that would be advantageous for the use of our artillery, it will be exceeding gratifying to us.

With great respect and best wishes, I remain, very respectfully,

NELSON A. MILES,
Major-General Commanding United States Army.

Lieutenant-General Garcia, Cuban Army.

Colonel Hernandez, one of General Garcia's staff officers, left Key West with this letter on June 2d; General Garcia received it on June 6th, and I received his reply by cable on June 9th, as follows:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mole St. Nicholas (via Washington), June 9, 1898.

General MILES,

Commanding United States Army:

Garcia's reply on June 6 to your letter of June 2:

"Will take measures at once to carry out your recommendation, but concentration of force will require some time. Roads bad and Cubans scattered. Will march without delay. Santiago de Cuba well fortified with advanced intrenchments, but believe good artillery position can be taken. Spanish force approximates 12,000 between Santiago de Cuba and Guantanamo, 3,000 militia. Will maintain a Cuban force near Holguin to prevent sending re-enforcements to Santiago."

The above given to me by Admiral Sampson to forward to you.

ALLEN.

The following is an extract from a cable message from Admiral Sampson to the Secretary of the Navy, which was repeated to me at Tampa on June 12th, for my information:

Mole St. Nicholas, Haiti.

General Miles's letter received through Colonel Hernandez on June 6. Garcia regards his wishes and suggestions as orders, and immediately will take measures to concentrate forces at the points indicated, but he is unable to do so as early as desired on account of his expedition to Banes Port, Cuba, but he will march without delay. All of his subordinates are ordered to assist to disembark the United States troops and to place themselves under orders. Santiago de Cuba well fortified, with advanced intrenchments, but he believes position for artillery can be taken as Miles desires. (Approximate) twelve thousand (12,000) regulars and three thousand (3,000) militia between Santiago and Guantanamo. He has sent force in order to prevent aid going to Santiago from Holguin. Repeats every assurance of good will, and desires to second plans.

SAMPSON.

It will be observed that General Garcia regarded my requests as his orders, and promptly took steps to execute the plan of operations. He sent 3,000 men to check any movement of the 12,000 Spaniards stationed at Holguin. A portion of this latter force started to the relief of the garrison at Santiago, but was successfully checked and turned back by the Cuban forces under General Feria. General Garcia also sent 2,000 men, under Perez, to oppose the 6,000 Spaniards at Guantanamo, and they were successful in their object. He also sent 1,000 men, under General Rios, against the 6,000 men at Manzanillo. Of this garrison, 3,500 started to reinforce the garrison at Santiago, and were engaged in no less than thirty combats with the Cubans on their way before reaching Santiago. With an additional force of 5,000 men, General Garcia besieged the garrison of Santiago, taking up a strong position on the west side of the harbor, and he afterwards received Admiral Sampson and General Shafter at his

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

camp near that place. He had troops in the rear, as well as on both sides of the garrison at Santiago before the arrival of our troops.

The expedition for Santiago was delayed at Tampa, on account of the reported presence along the northern coast of Cuba of some Spanish war vessels, but it finally sailed on the 14th of June.

As most of the regular Army was included in this expedition, and on account of the importance of the enterprise, I desired to go with it, but was directed to return to Washington.

It cannot be denied that this expedition left in a very unsatisfactory condition, as regards accommodations on the transports for the men and animals, and the necessary facilities for landing troops. Fair weather, however, attended the expedition throughout the voyage, and the great discomfort and danger that would have been experienced in stormy weather was avoided.

Previous to the departure of the expedition the question of the best point and method of attack had been carefully considered, and I had obtained and furnished the Commanding General with maps and photographs of the country.

Covered by the Navy, on the 22d of June, a landing was effected by part of the troops at Daiquiri, and on the following day the remainder were landed at Siboney. The distances to these points from Santiago were very short, that from Daiquiri being not over sixteen miles, while the distance from Siboney was not over ten miles. The roads, however, were very poor, and the movement of supplies and artillery was difficult.

The troops had been landed, largely by the Navy, in a very short time, but the landing of artillery and general supplies was a much more difficult matter, the number of tugs, lighters, etc., being in every way insufficient. It was with great difficulty that enough supplies were landed for the absolute wants of the troops, while the necessity of providing for a number of refugees who had left Santiago made the conditions still worse.

The advance upon Santiago, the fights at Las Guasimas, El Caney and San Juan, and the final surrender, have been described so often that it is unnecessary to go into detail regarding them. The bravery of our troops, the energy and fortitude displayed by them under the most adverse circumstances, are a monument to their character.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The reports of General Shafter and his Division Commanders, Wheeler, Kent, Lawton, Bates and Sumner, show the number of troops, the difficulties encountered and the obstacles overcome.

A rough and broken country, covered with dense tropical forests and jungles, cut by only a few narrow roads and paths, made it difficult for the troops to push their way through, against even the small force of Spanish troops that disputed their way. Fortunately, our officers and soldiers had been accustomed to manœuver through thickets and wildernesses in the Civil War, and through the fastnesses in the Rocky and Sierra Madre Mountains against the wily Indians, and they were undaunted in their efforts against a more passive, yet a brave, foe. Although the advance positions and outer works of the enemy, like the three above mentioned, were held by a very small force, yet, concealed in their intrenchments and with their Mauser rifles, they were able to kill and wound more than half as many of our men in front of their positions as their own troops numbered; but, notwithstanding this sacrifice, the positions were gallantly taken, and a crescent-shaped line was formed, closely investing a good part of the city and garrison of Santiago.

NELSON A. MILES.

(To be Continued.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHINA AND THE POWERS.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL LORD CHARLES BERESFORD, R. N.

NONE of the Powers has greater interests at stake in China, whether existent or prospective, than Great Britain and the United States. As will be seen by my Report on the China Mission, shortly to be published by Messrs. Harper and Brothers, the latest figures I was able to obtain during my visit to China last year (1898) showed that these two Powers had over seventy-two per cent. of the whole of the foreign trade with China in their hands; all the other Powers combined having only twenty-eight per cent. between them, of which Japan possesses the larger share.

It is perfectly true that, upon examining these figures, there seems to be a great disproportion between sixty-four per cent. of trade possessed by Great Britain, and the eight per cent. possessed by the United States. It must be remembered, however, that it was Great Britain who opened up, made possible, and developed the foreign trade of the Chinese Empire. For many years, Great Britain held an almost undisputed commercial position in that country. Subsequently, other European countries began to compete with her; but the American nation, which is probably about the latest of these competitors, has already outdistanced all rivals, and obtained eight per cent. of the whole trade, as against the twenty-eight per cent. of all other nations combined (including Japan). Viewed in this light, it will be seen that the disproportion between the trade of Great Britain and the United States is less real than apparent. There are one or two other factors which have to be taken into consideration in studying these statistics, which, like all figures, are more or less misleading.

The first point is that not only is a very large proportion of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American trade carried in British bottoms, but, in addition, a considerable amount is consigned to the old-established British firms in China, and therefore is rightly treated as British commerce by the Chinese customs. This trade in American goods is very large, I am told; and, while it is rightly classified as British, being British owned, and carried in British ships to Chinese ports, yet its place of origin is none the less American.

The second point is, that this eight per cent. of *actual* American trade as against sixty-four per cent. of *nominal* British trade, has been obtained in a comparatively few years, and the proportionate increase of trade in the last two or three years would therefore be found to be in favor of America.

The third, and still more important, point is that, while the British volume of trade is still growing, there is no doubt that in several directions, notably in drills, jeans and sheetings, the trade of the United States has steadily gone ahead in China, while in British trade there has been a decline. The cotton piece goods trade as a whole declined during 1897, but, in the items quoted above, there was actually an increase of nearly 500,000 pieces, all of American manufacture.

It is apparent, therefore, that the interest of the United States in the foreign trade of China is not only an increasing one, but is also a *proportionately* greater interest than that of all European competitors, with the exception of Great Britain, and this despite the fact that most of them had the start of the United States in competing with Great Britain for the China market.

I was pleased to find that on the whole the American press, as the representative of public opinion in the United States, warmly endorsed the views which I expressed relative to the open door, in my speeches on my way back to Great Britain, and all appeared to be very much interested in the China problem. Despite this interest, however, I was unable to obtain any definite expression of opinion in favor of an active policy in Chinese affairs.

The commercial community of any country knows its own business better than any outsider can teach it, and all I propose to do is to lay plain facts before my American readers, without presuming to dictate to them as to what their line of policy should be.

The position and importance of American trade with China I

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have already shown to be considerable. The prospects of its development, and the many openings for increasing trade, will be found on reading my Report. The only question which remains, and which I propose to shortly deal with here, is the actual position and prospects of China herself, and how American interests are thereby affected.

Some of the American journals which disagreed with me, seemed to doubt the wisdom of the policy I suggested in my speeches in America, because, they say, "if inaugurated it would force the United States into a situation which might lead to war," and therefore the interests involved are not commensurate with the risks and responsibilities likely to be incurred.

I can quite understand this argument, and how strongly it must appeal to the people of the United States, who have always endeavored to observe a policy of non-intervention in foreign affairs, unless important interests of the American people were at stake, or their sense of justice was appealed to. This is a perfectly intelligible policy on the part of a commercial nation, to which peace is of the highest importance, because of the disturbing effect of war on trade and commerce. But there are occasions on which it is necessary to protect commercial interests by going to war, and there are occasions on which an energetic policy is necessary in order to prevent war, and to avoid irreparable damage to trade and commerce. The situation we are now facing comes under the last-named head. In my humble opinion, in the present state of affairs with regard to China, it would be better in the commercial interests of both the United States and Great Britain, that they should support China, and so prevent the total collapse of this immense Empire, together with the consequent disorganization of trade, and the expenditure of blood and money which will be required to restore law and order, and to re-establish that confidence without which trade cannot flourish.

If it were merely a question of the present value of American-Chinese trade being involved, I can quite see that it would pay the United States to remain an unmoved spectator of events in the Far East; but this is not the case. China is an almost untapped market. It is a vast country with an enormous population, and rich natural resources, all of which can be developed. Can either the United States or Great Britain afford to stand

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

aside, and see their present trade disturbed, if not lost; and, also, their share in the prospective development of China as a whole interfered with? There is no doubt what the answer of the commercial classes in Great Britain will be, and I do not think that there will be much difference between their views and those of the business men of the United States, when the latter have carefully examined the *data* with which my Report will supply them.

There are only two policies open. The one, I contend, will inevitably lead to anarchy and rebellion in China, and possibly to war between the foreign nations whose interests clash in that country. In certain phases of situations, no such thing as a policy of non-intervention is possible. This is one of them. To calmly await events really means to precipitate the dangers we all wish to avoid. Recent action on the part of the various European Powers has tended to discredit the Chinese Government in the eyes of the people. So called "spheres of influence" are being more or less openly mapped out. In those spheres, certain countries are endeavoring to set up a claim to exclusive rights and privileges. China is powerless to resist the demands which are made upon her, and, when she yields to one Power by "*force majeure*," she is immediately bullied by other Powers to give them compensation for things she had neither the moral right to grant, nor the physical power to refuse.

This selfish and cowardly policy has been pursued by all the European Powers in a minor or major degree. If it is continued much longer, it must inevitably lead to the break-up of the Chinese Empire. I will go further. It has been pursued too long already: events are moving so rapidly, that we can no longer adhere to a policy of drift. The effete and corrupt Chinese Government has been so severely shaken, that, the moment the people realize its impotence, it must fall. There are only two policies in my opinion to be adopted. The one is to acquiesce in this state of affairs, and so be compelled to join the dishonest "spheres of influence" policy, which means that everyone will take as much territory as he can. The second and alternative line of policy is that which I have described as "The Open Door, or Equal Opportunity for the Trade of All Nations." I will deal with both.

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE.

It amazes me to hear people talk so calmly about the break-up

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of an Empire of over 430 millions of people. It will be easy to destroy the present governmental system in China, but how is it to be reconstructed? What will become of the guarantees and undertakings of China, and what security have we that the expectant heirs of the Sick Man of the Far East will assume the responsibility for his obligations? The phrase "spheres of influence" is easy to use in theory, but *how* is the policy it indicates to be carried out in practice?

Nominal spheres of influence, such as Germany now possesses in Shantung, or Russia in Manchuria, may exist as long as there is a Chinese Government with some authority over the people to maintain law and order; but when that Government is overturned and the authority of the hated foreigner is substituted for it, the question becomes less easy to settle than it looks on the face of it. Are the Powers going to land armies to conquer or repress 400 millions of people, who even now show an undisguised hatred and contempt for the foreigner and all his methods? Are we going to destroy an Empire which has lasted for 4,000 years, and replace it with something else in a satisfactory manner, within a period of ten, fifteen, twenty or even a hundred years? What man of common sense can doubt that such a policy means endless trouble, anarchy and rebellion; and an interference with trade and commerce which may be felt for years to come? To foreign bondholders, it means a loss of between fifty and sixty millions, sterling, because the debtor and his guarantee will both have disappeared.

How are the rival interests of conflicting nations to be amicably adjusted, if such a state of affairs is brought about? Capital has been invested and railways are being built by one Power, in the "sphere of influence" regarded by another Power as peculiarly its own. For instance, in the Yangtse Valley, which, if "spheres of influence" are marked out, Great Britain will take measures to secure as her own, several nations have lately obtained territorial concessions, which have resulted in the disturbance of British firms who owned land within such concessions. It cannot be doubted that, if the disintegration of China begins, these and other questions will lead to international complications. Where is the United States' sphere of influence to be? I think the answer is very short. The United States' sphere of influence, like that of Great Britain, *should* be wherever

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American trade preponderates over that of other Powers. If one Power is allowed to close the door in the South, and others in the North, no sphere of influence can compensate America and Great Britain for the loss they must sustain.

The policy of inaction will, therefore, by allowing the Chinese Government to fall to pieces, bring about a condition of affairs which must lead to an expenditure of blood and money to protect the lives and property of foreigners resident in China. It most probably will lead to international complications, and to a European war; and, most certainly, it will mean great disturbance to, if not eventual loss of, trade.

"THE OPEN DOOR."

The alternative policy to that which I have just described is that of the "Open Door, or Equal Opportunity for All." This policy was advocated in my recent speeches in America on the China question. I suppose that, even in a protectionist country, such as the United States, no one will deny the advantages of such a policy as applied to American exports to China; and that, whether the American manufacturer prefers to have preferential rights at home or not, it must be to his advantage that he has an equal opportunity with the foreigner abroad, and that no foreigner secures preferential rights in China which would leave American trade in the cold.

This being so, only the question of the cost remains to be calculated, and how such a policy is to be carried out if adopted. It is upon this point that I think some of the American journals misunderstood my arguments, which probably were not sufficiently clearly stated.

I deny that this policy can lead to war, or that it will cost the United States a single cent, or a solitary soldier, to carry it out.

The first thing is to see how this policy is to be undertaken, and then we can estimate the cost of it. It means a policy to be inaugurated now, whereas the alternative policy is a policy of procrastination. This is a most important point, when it is remembered that there are only two Powers ready to go to war in China to-day, or who can possibly do so with any chance of success. As time goes on, this will be altered. At the present moment Great Britain, with her enormous fleet in Far Eastern waters, and the 100,000 native troops she can bring up from India within a shorter time than any other Power can land an army,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

combined with her possession of the chief coaling stations, is pre-eminently in a position to deal with the China question by war, if she so desired. Next to her, comes Japan, with a fine fleet in close proximity to the scene of operations, and a capacity to land 200,000 troops in China at any moment. Apart from these two, the United States, by her position on the other side of the Pacific, and the object lesson she has just given the world of her ability to mobilize men and ships rapidly and effectively, has also to be counted with; while, as any trouble in China would probably mean European complications, Germany would have to be regarded as an important factor in the position. Above all, these four powers represent the foreign trade interests of China, the proportion divided up amongst other nations being so inconsiderable that it has no such strong claims.

These four Powers, therefore, have a moral right to protect their own interests, and the ability to do so. If they agreed to combine, not for purely selfish motives, but to guarantee the independence of China, and the maintenance of a fair field and no favor for all comers, who can suppose that any other Power could reasonably (or even unreasonably) object. The whole *raison d'être* of such an understanding would lie in the fact that it would be too powerful to attack, and that it could maintain the peace while preserving the open door to all. There would be no menace to other Powers in such a combination, because the bond of agreement between the contracting parties would be the preservation of the open door with equal opportunity for all. To China herself, the Powers would prove friends in need. By guaranteeing her integrity, they would give a new lease of life to the Chinese Empire. They would be entitled to ask, and powerful enough to secure, that reforms for the benefit of China and the improvement of foreign trade should be carried out.

The re-organization of China's finances and her army, would enable her to stand alone in the near future. It is not necessary to go to Congress, or to the Imperial Parliament, to secure the men necessary to assist China to effect these reforms. As long as the four Governments induced China to undertake the reforms in return for their protection, men would easily be secured from all of these countries, and also from other nations, who would assist the Chinese in building up their Empire on more stable foundations.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The moral and political support of China by the four Powers I have named is all that is needed. They need not expend a single shilling, or move a single man, officially, in order to carry it out. All that is required is that China shall be assisted, and, in return for such assistance, shall employ foreigners of all countries who will reorganize her army and her finances, on as sound lines as the Imperial Maritime Customs of China is established.

Observation of recent events teaches us that, if we continue to leave China to herself without recuperative power from within, or firm and determined assistance from without, her ultimate disintegration is only a question of time. The reforms which are urgently required in China, both for the benefi of that Empire and its people, and for the development of the trade of friendly nations, may be shortly summarized as follows:

1. The appointment of a foreign Financial Adviser to direct the administration and collection of internal revenue.

2. The reform of currency, so as to afford a more stable exchange.

3. The establishment and centralization of mints.

4. The abolition of the present *octroi* and likin charges on goods which have already paid duty at the ports. In return for this, China should be allowed to increase her present tariff. Trade would not be damaged so much by slightly increased taxation, as it is injured and hindered by the delays and uncertainties of the present fiscal system.

5. The re-arrangement of the salt monopoly, and general administrative reform.

6. The establishment and maintenance of a proper military and police, capable of affording that protection to which the foreign merchant is entitled for himself or his goods.

7. The opening up of the country and its resources, by giving greater facilities to native or foreign capital in the development of the minerals of the country, and improvements in the lines of communication, including postal and telegraphic reforms.

8. The right of residence in the interior to be conceded to foreigners.

9. The promotion of all reforms and the introduction of all changes which are likely to promote the cause of civilization and the well-being of the Chinese people.

Such a coalition as that of the four great trading Powers I

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have mentioned, could obtain these reforms with advantage to themselves, and benefit to China, and indeed the trading world.

In a very few years, with this assistance loyally rendered, China would have an army capable of protecting herself, as long as she retained the foreign officers. The idea that the Chinese are not good soldiers is a great mistake. I was permitted to inspect most of the armies, and all of the forts and arsenals of China, as will be seen by the detailed accounts in my report, and I am convinced that, properly armed, disciplined, and led, there could be no better material than the Chinese soldier. I leave it to the commercial classes of the United States to say whether it is not worth their while to incur such slight risks for such great profit, and for so good an object.

On sound business lines this policy appeals to the American nation; but, in addition to that, are we going to let this opportunity slip of drawing the two Anglo-Saxon nations together for the cause of civilized progress, and the benefit of the world at large? Great nations have great responsibilities, to which they must be true, and when those responsibilities and self-interest go hand in hand, it would be unwise to miss the opportunity.

Events are moving very rapidly in the Far East. A decision must be arrived at, and action of some sort taken very soon. It is the duty of Great Britain to lead, and I believe that the United States will not refuse to follow, but that both nations will combine to hoist aloft the banner of civilization and industrial progress, for the benefit of their own people, as well as for the benefit of China, and of the world.

CHARLES BERESFORD.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN ENGLAND.

BY THE REV. JOHN WATSON, D. D. ("IAN MACLAREN").

IT is a historical fact that any crisis in the Church of England affects, not only English history, but also the greater history of the Anglo-Saxon race. The persecution of the Puritan party in the seventeenth century laid the foundation of the American nation; and Puritanism found a home in New England, whence the Puritan spirit has been acting upon the world. Wesley's exile from the English Church created the most aggressive and enthusiastic of Protestant denominations, and has taught new methods of religious work to the Christian Church. The Church of England is again in a ferment, and what may come out of this commotion for Anglo-Saxon Christianity no man can tell. But it may be interesting, especially for American readers, to have a succinct and, so far as may be possible for any writer, an impartial statement of the present religious situation in England.

I.

It is necessary, at the outset, for the reader to remind himself of the unique position which the Church of England holds in English life and society. To her belong the great cathedrals, which are not only monuments of beautiful art, but are also associated with great passages of the past, since within these cathedrals the classic dead of England lie, and great events of English history have taken place. The service of the English Church has also so endeared itself to all Englishmen, whether they be Anglicans or Puritans, that many persons who are not members of the national Church still desire the sanction of her rites at the great moments of life. Dissenters love to be married within her walls; their children are frequently christened by her ministers, and afterwards their own remains are committed to the dust with the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

words of her beautiful death office. The public schools of England, where the sons of the middle and upper classes are educated, and from which our legislators and statesmen and writers and lawyers largely come, are under the control of the Anglican Church, so that the lads, at the most impressionable period of life, are brought up in her spirit and are taught her doctrines. The Queen must be, in England, a member of the Anglican Church, just as, in Scotland, she is a member of the Presbyterian Kirk; for this is in accordance with the theory of established churches. The Houses of Parliament are opened with the service of the national Church, and throughout the land all kinds of institutions, from poorhouses to jails, are equipped with Anglican chaplains. At every turn, one comes up against the Church; and, in a thousand subtle ways, the Church has struck her roots through the length and breadth of English life.

One ought also freely to admit, whether he happens to be a member of a liturgical church or not, that no form of divine worship is so perfectly satisfying, in its comprehensiveness and spirituality, in its reverence and beauty, as the offices of the Anglican Church, and especially the services for morning and evening prayer, with the litany. Many dissenters yearly pass over from their own communions to the Church of England, because they are tired of extempore prayer and offended by its want of reverence; and, indeed, it may also be laid down as a principle that, when a person reaches a certain height of culture, he will no longer be content to be at the mercy of, it may be, a partially educated person in the conduct of divine worship, but will insist that culture, in the sense of imagination and delicacy and reverence of thought, should render her highest service in the worship of God. The dissenting communions of England do not contain many representatives of the cultured classes, and, while there may be various reasons for this fact, undoubtedly one is their somewhat rude and miscellaneous forms of worship, compared with the stately order and the grave, sweet melody of the prayer book.

Besides, it is possible that too little weight has been attached to the fact that the Anglican Church, in her very peculiarities, reflects the character of the English mind. While a Scot is logical if he is anything, and is willing to break his neck over a precipice in following the path of straight reason, an Englishman is rather sensible and practical, and considers that extremes may

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

often be united by a judicious compromise. When a critic points out that the Anglican Church is hopelessly inconsistent in her own formularies—because she has Calvinistic articles and a Catholic prayer book, because her clergyman is sometimes called a minister and sometimes a priest, because the mass is denounced in an article and then is partially sanctioned in her communion office, because the Roman custom of confession was abandoned and then confession in certain circumstances is invited—he seems to have made a strong case against the Church of England. But he has not injured that Church one bit in the mind of an average Englishman. He is aware, if he knows anything about history, that the Church really was a compromise between extreme parties, so that she should be neither Roman nor Puritan, and, whether he knows this or not, he is quite content that she shall represent different views and express the feelings of different schools as the church of the English people.

One influence of the English Church is, however, not wholesome, and is to be deprecated as much by churchmen as by dissenters, and that is a certain ignoble and vulgar social attraction which she possesses for people of the rich, self-made class. So long as a dissenter is poor, or so long as, being rich, he does not desire to enter society, he is content to worship as his fathers did, according to the order of the Congregational or Methodist communion. When he becomes rich, and especially when his family grow ambitious of social favor, he feels uneasy in his dissenting environment, and regards the Church of England with increasing favor. His children have been brought up at public schools or girls' boarding schools, where they have attended the Anglican worship, and they refuse any longer to go with their parents to chapel. They are admitted into the Church of England by confirmation, and, usually, with the zeal of a 'vert (if a person leaves my communion he is, of course, a pervert; if he comes to my communion he is, of course, a convert: in this case we are simply saying a 'vert), they become extremely High Church, and are by no means certain regarding the salvation of their own parents. The parents themselves may remain dissenters to the day of their death, or at last, weary of dissension at home, and possibly touched also with social ambition, they may go with their children to the Church of England. It is no wonder that conscientious dissenters are indignant with this religious snobbery, and that the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spiritual clergy of the Church of England regard with suspicion and disfavor those that have come to their fold not for conscience but for fashion's sake. This unfortunate influence of the Anglican Church is sometimes urged as a reason for disestablishment, but with little insight or grasp of thought, since the Church disestablished would still be as fashionable, and would still be one of the roads into select society for striving and un-spiritual people.

II.

We must now fix in our minds the internal geography, as it were, of the Church of England, which is divided into three provincial parties, each with its own distinct color and history.

There is, first of all, the High Church party, which rests upon a solid historical basis, and represents the views of those who never desired to separate from the Catholic Church, but only were weary of the abuses of the Papacy. This party would have been satisfied, at the time of the Reformation, had moral scandals been removed and the ecclesiastical tyranny of Rome been reduced. High Churchmen have always desired to keep in the line of Catholic tradition, from the days of Cyprian downwards, and have rejoiced in the offices of the Catholic Church, being unwilling to lose one spiritual prayer of the past that has expressed the soul of Christ's Church, or one beautiful ceremony which has represented, as in a picture, the mysteries of Christ's faith. In the troubled days when the questions that are agitating our time were fought out to their bitter end, this party was represented in its saintliness by George Herbert and Bishop Andrewes, and in its public policy by one in whom both its strength and weakness were strangely combined, Archbishop Laud; while, in our century, it has risen into life and strength under the guidance of Newman, Pusey, Keble, Liddon and Gore. This party stands for the Catholic idea of the Church, the principle of authority in religion, the beauty of public worship and the Apostolical succession of the holy ministry.

The second party represents the tendency at the Reformation which was called Calvinistic, and, somewhat later in England, Puritan. Low Churchmen were determined to go to the furthest length in rescuing, as they believed, Christianity from superstition and doctrinal error; they preferred to have presbyters without bishops, believing that bishops meant in the end tyranny and ecclesiastical corruption. They desired the simplest form of wor-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ship, and were especially keen against kneeling at the sacrament, the sign of the cross, turning to the East, the wearing of priestly garments, and every other form of symbolism. Their real and characteristic idea of worship was and is, unto this day, praise sung by all the people, extempore prayer in which the people are not able to join, the preaching of a sermon, and the administration of the two sacraments after the simplest and sometimes baldest form. Low Churchmen accept, of course, the service of the Church of England, but they reject as much as they dare of what is Catholic, and introduce extempore prayer where they can. Low Churchism was represented in the burning period by Bishop Hooper, of Gloucester, who refused to wear the Episcopal garments, and was in the end condemned as a heretic in the reign of Mary, and burned at the stake. It revived in later days, under the spirit of Whitfield and Simeon, and is to-day most accurately represented by the venerable Bishop Ryle, of Liverpool.

While the fire was burning keenly, and Puritans and Anglicans were at one another's throats in former times, the third party could hardly put itself in evidence. Perhaps the Broad Church party can, however, be traced back to Lord Falkland, who gathered around him so thoughtful a circle of friends, and labored so hard to reconcile Puritans and Cavaliers, dying at last on the battlefield with the words "peace, peace," on his lips. Chillingworth, who had been both an Anglican and a Roman, and in the end went deeper than either, and Henry More, the religious philosopher, may be called fathers in this school of thought. No province certainly has reared nobler sons, or afforded richer harvests to religion in our day, since the Broad Church has given us Frederick Denison Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Robertson of Brighton and Dean Stanley. The Broad Churchmen occupy a detached position, as regards both Anglicans and Puritans, since they do not hold the high doctrine of the sacraments and of the ministry, while, at the same time, they are in favor of an ornate and reverent service. Everything which is historical and everything which is aesthetic appeals to their culture, but they are at the same time cleansed from a belief in ecclesiastical authority and doctrinal obscurantism. Their cardinal tenets are the Fatherhood of God and the true Humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Incarnation as a perpetual force in human life, and the salvation of the race through the spirit of Jesus.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

III.

From the revival of the High Church party in the middle of this century, the religious life of the Church of England has steadily deepened, so that, before the eyes of the nation, she has grown less secular and worldly, and has given herself, with singular devotion, to the cause of missions abroad, and to the welfare of the people at home. Her churches have been rebuilt and restored to a former beauty, her services have been lifted from squalor and coldness, and have been inspired both by art and faith. Her clergy have ceased to be fox hunters and diners out, and are now examples of self-denial and heroic sacrifice, many of them devoting all their means to the service of Christ and, for Christ's sake, denying themselves the comfort of family ties. With these beneficent results, others have mingled which the English people have regarded with growing suspicion; such as the claim of the Anglican ministry to be priests after the Roman idea, the elevation of the Lord's Supper into something approaching the Mass in mediæval theology, the reproduction of Roman services that had been abandoned by universal consent at the Reformation, the inculcation of the duty of confession and the creation of monastic orders.

Certain churches have had for years a worship which cannot be distinguished from the Roman rites, and there has been a growing indignation in the popular mind. With so much inflammable material lying loose, it was easy to set a match, and a person of the name of Kensit, an obscure publisher, interrupted the service in a ritualistic church in London, where the people were engaged in the adoration of the cross, by protesting in public against this rite, as a superstition of Rome and an illegality in the Church of England. He was brought before a magistrate and accused of brawling, but was eventually dismissed as not guilty, and he certainly was not punished. His act was the lighted match which caused the explosion, and now the whole country within and without the borders of the Church of England is full of noise and smoke. Sir William Harcourt, the leader of the Liberal party, for reasons which are variously estimated, but which one is bound to believe are entirely honest and conscientious, has put himself forward as the champion of Protestantism; and, both in the House of Commons and outside, he has insisted, with much force and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

considerable learning, that the practices of the ritualistic wing of the High Church party are contrary to the law of the Church as laid down by agreement with the State. He has pointed out, with unanswerable arguments, that the Church of England has a covenant with the State, and is not at liberty to break that covenant by introducing new doctrines or forms of worship. This crusade against the ritualists, as they are called, has been much assisted by the speeches of Mr. Samuel Smith, a member of Parliament and a man of well-known piety, who from the purest religious motives has been protesting against the Romanizing of the Church of England. Mr. Kensit and Sir William Harcourt are members of the Anglican Church; Mr. Smith is a member of the Presbyterian Church, and, while in Scotland he would be an Established Churchman, as the Presbyterian Church is there established, he is in England a dissenter. The battle is being fought, therefore, between the High Church and the Low Church within the Church of England, and the Low Churchmen have been reinforced from the outside by a considerable section of Non-Conformists.

IV.

The Non-Conformists are, of course, an important factor in English religious life, and they have not been unaffected by the High Church revival. During the last fifty years their whole idea of Christian worship has steadily heightened; so that a chapel is now frequently called a church, and is built in the Gothic style, in many cases, of architecture. Great attention is given to music and the accessories of worship, and in a few cases forms of prayer are used. One of the greatest of Non-Conformist divines, Dr. Dale, of Birmingham, taught a high idea of the Church and of the sacraments; and generally there has been a reaction from extreme simplicity of worship and individualism in Church polity. Quite lately a certain tendency to rationalism among Non-Conformists has been checked, and there has been an evident return to the verities of the Catholic faith. What is perhaps most significant of all, there has been a keen desire for Church unity, so that now various Non-Conformist denominations are united in a more or less loose federal scheme, called Free Church Councils, where the ministers and laymen of the Baptist, Independent, Methodist, and, in some cases, Presbyterian, communions hold counsel together in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a district, and take common action. It is right, however, to say, and it is also very important, that there is not in any quarter of Non-Conformity the slightest claim to priesthood, or the faintest anxiety to come to terms with Rome; while the nation is haunted by an uneasy feeling that Rome is the real goal of the extreme High Church party. Possibly a majority of Non-Conformists are in favor of disestablishment upon the grounds of religious equality, and also of the supposed social arrogance of the Anglican Church. Many Non-Conformists, however, are Conservatives in politics, and their number has been largely increased by the Home Rule split in the Liberal party; and this section of Non-Conformity is not at all enthusiastic for disestablishment, and is not inclined to meddle with the affairs of the Established Church. The Non-Conformists are, as a body, Evangelical and Protestant, and represent in the fullest manner the tradition and system of Puritanism.

V.

With this situation before us, the question now arises, What will happen? And here all one can do is to point out certain different possibilities. It is not at all unlikely that, after all this agitation and after all the threats of war unto death, the whole conflagration may burn out, as such conflagrations have burned out in the past; and the Church of England may go on her way, with a party at one extreme furiously Protestant, a party at the other almost Roman, and a party in the middle, stronger than both, composed of quiet, reverent, cultured churchmen. It is possible that the Bishops may put their heads together and at the same time may put their feet down, and if they chose to act vigorously, the Bishops could be felt through every corner of the Church. But to the present time they have been very cautious and timid, and their advice, when it has been given to ritualists, has usually been flouted and set at naught. As a class, Bishops are inclined to temporize and to make peace, if it be possible, between all parties, but it is said, with some justice, that their influence of recent years has been against the Low Church and in favor of the High. Very few people expect that the Bishops will do anything worth mentioning, or that they are likely to solve the problem of the situation.

Many are anxious that Parliament should interfere, and should pass some act by which mutinous priests of Romanizing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tendency could be easily removed from their livings, and the Protestantism of the Church of England secured by stringent legislation. Against this effort it may be urged that Parliament, a body composed of men of every creed and of no creed, is a most unsuitable body to discuss theological questions, and many feel that it would be utterly profane that discussions regarding the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ should take place on the floor of the House of Commons. High Churchmen are, of course, aghast at the idea, and consider that Parliament has no right to intrude upon the spiritual province of the Church, while many Non-Conformists agree with High Churchmen so far as this, that for Parliament to regulate the worship and doctrine of Christ's church would be an act of gross Erastianism. There are also some Non-Conformists, but one hopes that they are few, who would object to any Parliamentary reformation of the Church, because they would prefer that the condition of the Church should be allowed to grow worse and worse, in order that disestablishment might become inevitable.

It is open to prophesy that the strain of the present situation may soon become intolerable to the parties within the Church, and that there may be a disruption. As the High Church party has been for some time dominant, winning their cases in the law courts, and carrying everything before them in the Church courts, this could only mean the secession of the Low Church party. Undoubtedly, if a large body of Low Church clergymen seceded because they would not remain in a church which was, as they believed, teaching the worst superstitions of the Roman creed, their departure and their sacrifice would have a great effect upon the nation, and might do more than anything else to advance their views and win their cause. Very few people, however, are able to believe that, in any circumstances, the Low Church would take this heroic step, because, for various reasons, it has become a weakly party, with comparatively few scholars and with practically no leaders, and because, while it has fumed and fretted in the past, as a party, Low Churchmen have ever held fast to the idea of an established church, and have never shown the slightest inclination on any ground to abandon their livings. Many people, on the other hand, find it easy to believe that, if the High Church party were worsted and were denied the privilege of Catholic rites, a large number of its members would make any sacrifice, as the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

High Church party have ever put their principles before the Established Church of England, and as no one has ever been able to charge the High Church with the slightest inclination to Erastianism, or to cowardice.

VI.

The solution of the situation which occurs to every mind, as one which is certain to be proposed and which has many arguments in its favor, is the disestablishment of the Church of England. This action would be approved by the secular school of politicians, who regard the Christian Church with suspicion as an enemy of the people; by doctrinaires, political and religious, who insist with somewhat wire-drawn logic that the endowment of any single church is a violation of the principle of religious equality; by the class of Non-Conformists who believe that they are suffering a social wrong by the precedence of the Anglican Church; by the extreme wing of the High Church party, who would be much relieved to see the Church delivered from the royal supremacy and the interference of the State; and by the general body of pronounced Protestants, who feel that they are responsible as citizens for the Established Church and who, in present circumstances, are eager to wash their hands of this responsibility without delay.

On the other hand, disestablishment would be opposed by Conservative politicians, on the general ground of resistance to all change; by that school of religious people who hold that it is the duty of the State to endow the Church, and that a nation which has not established Christianity cannot be called Christian; by the Low Church party, who are unable to imagine the Church unestablished and free; and by the Broad Churchmen, because they believe, with some reason, that no sect is likely to be as tolerant and comprehensive as an established church; and in ordinary circumstances the anti-disestablishment party would be swelled by that large number of persons, of all political and religious creeds, who have no theoretical opinions on Established Churches, but who argue, with some semblance of common sense, that no institution should be punished which has served its end with fidelity, and that the Church of England has never been more efficient than at the present moment. This was the mind of the nation a year ago, and no cause was then so hopeless as disestablishment.

Even allowing full credit to the Protestant agitation, it is very

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doubtful whether all her opponents together could disestablish the Church, if her different parties united in her defence. If, however, High Churchmen anxious to be free, and Non-Conformists determined to make them free, and Protestants burning to strike a blow at Rome, should unite their forces, disestablishment would come within the range of practical politics, and would become the election cry of the Liberal party. What was impossible yesterday might then become an accomplished fact, and the long alliance between the English State and the English Church, which has on the whole been a blessing to both, be finally dissolved. Should this come to pass, the dissolution of this union will lie at the door of the extreme High Church party.

VII.

Regarding the result of disestablishment and the history of the Church of England, when she is free and independent, there may be two opinions. It is reasonable to argue that, as soon as the Church is self-governing, the large body of the English laity, who have no sympathy whatever with ritualistic extravagances or clerical pretensions, will avail themselves of the opportunity, and do what neither Parliament nor the Bishops have been able to accomplish. They will then revise the laws of the Church, and pass such regulations that every clergyman will have to abandon Roman practices or leave the Church. This has been the line taken by the Irish laity, and they have secured the Protestant character of the Church of Ireland beyond attack, and are able to deal with mutinous priests in a perfectly satisfactory manner. It is, however, open to argue that the High Church party, being the most determined and vigorous school in the Church of England, will seize the position, dictating any terms they choose to the Low Church party, and legalizing all the practices which at present are in dispute. In this case disestablishment would play into the hands of the Roman party, and be a very doubtful victory for the Protestants. It would then be possible for the Church of England to come to terms with Rome, and some morning the English people would awake to find a Roman priest in every parish church, and the work of the Reformation undone.

So serious and so likely is this prospect, that many shrink from any measure that would set the Church of England free from the control of the nation, and place this enormous corpora-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion, so rich in possessions and in traditions, at the disposal of Rome; and others, who consider that there is no solution for the situation except disestablishment, are determined that if the Church of England goes out with her present buildings, and with her large endowments, it shall be upon the condition that in no circumstances must they be handed over to the Roman Church.

VIII.

Perhaps, after all, the crisis may be resolved after another fashion, and the Church may be saved by what may be called the middle party. A large number of Englishmen are neither High, Low nor Broad; they do not trouble themselves about questions either of doctrine or ritual; they prefer a sound, sensible, practical sermon to any theological discussion; they like a well conducted musical service; they respect a parson who does his duty by the sick and the mourning and the poor and the children during the week, and, if he chooses to wear vestments on Sunday, they certainly do not think any more of his judgment; but, since it pleases him (and the women) and does them no injury, they offer no opposition. This kind of man does not enter readily into controversy, and refuses to attend party meetings, and it is doubtful whether as yet he has expressed himself upon the present situation. He is beginning, however, to watch events, and to get hold of the issues in question, and as soon as he is convinced that the Church of England is in real danger, and that the danger comes from the foolishness of a few hot headed extremists, he will make his voice heard, and also his power. In no circumstances will this man, the average, intelligent Englishman, return to the Roman Church, or throw away the national and religious freedom which was won by his fathers; nor does he propose to be driven out of the national church, which is his home and his heritage, and to take refuge in a Non-Conformist chapel. The moment that he has any suspicion that the confessional, for instance, is really to be re-established in the Anglican Church, he will bestir himself to some purpose, and will be inclined to make very short work with Anglican confessors. It is this man who creates sound opinion in his Church, and when that opinion is created it will certainly be against the Roman party, and as certainly it will be irresistible. Against the determined convictions of this kind of man and his quiet, resolute action, the ecclesiastical arrogance and hysteri-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cal fervor of the ritualists will be of no avail. One by one, in their parishes, they will be ostracised and condemned, and an atmosphere will be created in which they cannot live; they will either have to return to their senses and the orderly worship of the Anglican Church, or else they will have to go, and enter the church which they regard with so much envy as the undeniable branch of the Catholic Church, but which regards them as weak imitators and willful impostors. The policy of prosecution a ritualist welcomes—it is a cheap martyrdom; the policy of refrigeration he will not be able to endure—he will be frozen out. The salvation of the Anglican Church lies with this middle party, who are stronger than all the Bishops and all the clergy, and who really represent the best mind of the English nation. I can still hear a fine old clergyman of the moderate High Church school saying to me: "I am not a Ritualist, I am not a Low Churchman, neither am I a Broad Churchman; I am a member of the Church of England, and a Prayer-book Christian." This man, clergyman or layman, could never become a Puritan, neither would he ever become a Roman; he will ever walk in the way along which the main current of English life has gone, and he can now render his greatest service to the nation and to the Church, by coming forward in this present crisis and recalling the Church of England to that attitude of religious sanity and cultured moderation which, in days past, have been her distinction and attraction.

JOHN WATSON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

BY THE HON. T. B. REED.

EVER since the time when the bewildered successors of Columbus failed to find the transit to the East, by which they meant to pass by the land they had discovered to reach the far countries of the Orient they originally sought, the isthmus which connects the Northern and Southern continents of the Western Hemisphere and separates the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean has been the subject of the deepest interest, and the scene of a wonderful amount of research, considering the difficulties of topography and climate. At first, all were reluctant to surrender the old idea, which had hardened itself into a tradition, with imaginary maps and charts, that, somewhere in the lagoons and tropical forests, was a passage-way already made by nature, which was only waiting the sails of the bold man who should discover or rediscover the highway of nations through which the commerce of two worlds would enrich and satisfy both.

It was soon found, however, that there was no passage made by nature; and Philip the Second felt assured that the Lord did not intend the connection to be made between the two Oceans. While we have since learned that the intentions of the Deity are not to be lightly assumed, there was certainly in that age a fair chance for argument; for a more closely connected and determined union of hills and peaks can hardly anywhere be found, than in the range which runs from one end to the other of the Isthmus, and its immediate connections. Providence certainly did not intend that any world, any less rich than our own, should undertake the work of lifting great ships across the divide which separates the Oceans.

All the probable passage-ways have been so far examined, that the world has settled down upon the belief that only two routes can

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be the scene of the great commerce which is hoped for in the future. One is on the Isthmus of Panama, which is the least in actual distance from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the other takes its course through the Peninsula which connects the Isthmus with the main continent to the north, as it goes widening from Costa Rica to Mexico. One route is 46 miles, and the other between 170 and 180. While there is that great difference in distance to be traversed, the difference in the canals to be excavated is by no means so great. The Panama Canal is all excavation from one end to the other, except 11½ miles of artificial lake, and is 46 miles in length. The Nicaragua route makes use of Lake Nicaragua, an inland sea which was one day connected with the Pacific and was a part of its vast expanse. The landlocked sharks of the lake are living testimonials of the fact. Besides the lake, a long stretch of river can be so utilized that, while the distance on the Nicaragua route is what has been stated, the canal making will be somewhere between 27 and 35 miles, according to the plan which shall finally be adopted. In addition to the canal making, the rivers used will have to be dredged and lowered and some parts of them turned aside. The Lake will also need dredging in various places. No definite plans have yet been decided upon by the last Board which was sent to investigate the problem, though they have indicated, with careful reserve, changes, which are very serious modifications of the work proposed by the Engineer of the Maritime Canal Company, Mr. Menocal. The Report of the Canal Board under charge of General Wm. Ludlow had already criticised that plan, and made many suggestions which caused reflection even in the minds of those who had been earnest partisans.

Perhaps a brief description of the plan of the Maritime Canal Company, and a statement of the points of criticism, would enable us more easily to get a general idea of the state of the enterprise and the conditions of the various plans, so far as they have been indicated.

In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the main avenue of transportation is Lake Nicaragua, at 110 feet above the level of the sea. Of course, the water line of the Lake varies, nobody knows quite how much, but between limits of 12 or 14 feet between 112 feet and 98 feet. This variation, however, does not cover each year but a number of years, and is the extreme varia-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion. The level of 110 feet named in the Menocal plan, or 112 in the Ludlow suggestion, must be maintained all the time; for, while the top of the Lake may be lowered from time to time, the bottom cannot be, and the difference between the top and the bottom is where the vessel runs. This level of the Lake, at 110 or 112 feet, is the height to which ships must be lifted to cross the altitude between the two Oceans. To this height the ships must be lifted on both sides by locks, and lowered on both sides by the same means. The 110 feet level exists, naturally, only on the Lake itself when it is high, and in the upper San Juan, its outflow. This would be only 56 miles of the 170, to which should be added a part of the San Juan River on the eastern side. To increase this distance, whatever it might be, so as to make the level extend for more than 140 miles, Mr. Menocal conceived a plan which was singularly bold and attractive. On the Pacific side, he planned to have the first nine miles from the lake end in a basin of five miles and a half in length, and a mile in width, created by a tall dam called the La Flor Dam. This would add 14½ miles to the navigation on the 110 feet level. On the Atlantic side, he proposed a dam at Ochoa on the San Juan sixty-four miles from its source, which is the Lake, which would have extended the navigation on the Lake level sixty-four miles more. The dam was to be, or, rather, would have to be, 110 feet high, to which must be added the depth necessary to reach rock bottom, though Menocal contemplated surface dam. At Ochoa, the route was to branch off into the Valley of the San Francisco, where, by a dam at the end and by embankments on the sides, another basin was to be created, carrying the Lake level seven miles farther. Adding all these extensions to the 56 miles by which you cross the Lake, you will find that, from La Flor Dam to the end of the San Francisco basin, there was to be a stretch of 142 miles on the same level, the level of the Lake, not a natural varying level, but a permanent one to be created. This 142 miles being taken out, there were left 26 or 27 miles of canal to be made. Of the 27 miles, 11½ were to be on the Pacific side and the rest on the side of Greytown. These figures are not exact, but are sufficiently so for our present purpose. On this plan, a ship from the Pacific, at about half a mile from Brito, was to be lifted by one lock 21 or 29 feet, according to the stage of the tide. Going on this new level two miles, the ship would be lifted by two locks which were to adjoin each other

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

45½ feet by each, and about 90 feet by both, to the Tola basin, to begin its voyage of 142 miles to the Lake, through the Lake and on the San Juan River, down by the Ochoa Dam to and through the San Francisco Basin; then three miles through the Eastern Divide, a rock cutting 140 feet in depth, to the Deseado basin; at the end of which the ship was to be lowered 45 feet by a lock, travel three miles further, and then, being lowered 30 feet, go on another mile, drop 31 feet and then, after 9 miles of canal, reach the Harbor of Greytown, which was to be made available by whatever expenditure might be necessary. It will be seen, even from this inadequate description, that it was not an exaggeration to call this plan both bold and attractive.

It was attractive, because it gave a long reach of 142 miles, and in many ways seemed to lessen the amount of canal making and the amount of dredging in the river San Juan. It was bold, because the dams and retaining embankments were, perhaps, without precedent in magnitude of work and in risk of disaster. The dam at La Flor on the Pacific side and the dam and embankments at Ochoa, together with the embankments of the San Francisco Basin, were well calculated, to use the language of Admiral Walker, "to keep its superintendent awake nights." Especially would this be so on Mr. Menocal's plan, which did not propose to go down to rock formation, but to have "a dam of loose rock," which, Admiral Walker says, "would have to be enormous in size; it would be like moving a hill into the river." Of course, as was afterwards discovered, by going 80 feet below the bottom of the river, a dam could be built 190 feet in full height at a cost as yet unestimated. As for the San Francisco embankment line, General Hains regards it "as the most dangerous matter in connection with the whole project." General Abbott, who, however, represents a rival project, says that "enormous embankments are required in the San Francisco Basins. They are sixty-seven in number and six miles in length, and some of them will rise from 60 to 85 feet above soft mud, which must be excavated to a depth of 30 feet to reach a clay foundation." Prof. Haupt, a member of the Walker Board, the most recent of all, says that there are some eight miles instead of six of artificial work along the entire length of the line of the San Francisco Basin.

The Canal Board, at the head of which was General William Ludlow, expressed grave doubts, similar to those expressed by the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Walker Board, as to the risk and possible trouble that would arise under the Menocal plan.

After the Canal Board, which had neither the time nor the money to make an examination such as was needed, but which certainly brought back most valuable results showing great labor and skill, had made its report, a new board was appointed, consisting of Admiral Walker, General Peter C. Hains and Prof. Lewis M. Haupt.

This board has devoted and is still devoting much time to the investigation of the various engineering phases of the work. While their investigations will in time be more thorough and full than those of their predecessors, they were yet entirely incomplete at the last session of Congress. Hence, at that time, they were not able to give opinions, except with that reserve which men of their eminence would feel necessary with so many matters still undetermined. Perhaps it would not be improper to say, with suitable reservations, that General Hains expressed the general impression of the Board when he said he "would prefer to construct a lock and dam at Machuca Rapids," about twenty miles above Ochoa, "and lock down 25 or 30 feet so as to reduce the height of those," the San Francisco, "embankments." This would reduce the average height of the San Francisco basin embankments about 50 per cent., and of the Ochoa dam about 30 per cent., or "something like that." There is one disadvantage about this plan which General Hains states, which is, that the level at which you leave the San Juan is the level you must maintain across what is called the Eastern Divide, and you must go just so much deeper in your excavation, which would add 25 or 30 feet to the 140 already planned for, making it 165 to 170 feet deep instead of 140. This would be an extra expense, but not at all comparable to risk avoided. The Tola Dam and Basin are also the subjects of destructive criticism on the part of both the later boards. General Hains would do away with both and confine the work to a simple canal which, he thinks, presents no difficulties. Prof. Haupt seems rather to be in favor of lowering the Dam, which would eliminate the Basin.

It should be added that various other routes, after leaving Ochoa, are to be considered in the light of these facts and such further investigations as may be found necessary. It may be that, instead of leaving the San Juan at Ochoa, it could be left at Tam-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bour Grande, 10 or 12 miles lower, thus saving all the San Francisco embankment. One other difficulty has got to be met, and undoubtedly will be, by the investigations of the present Board. The level of Lake Nicaragua must be maintained at 110 or 112 feet, or at some level at all seasons within very narrow limits. That level is the basis of the whole work. Between that level and the bottom of the canal must be space enough for the ship to move at reasonable speed. The lower the top, the lower must be the bottom. If the bottom must be lowered there must be more excavation and more cost. Flood waters must be discharged, evaporation at the rate of 16,000 cubic feet per second in the dry season must be provided for. This is more than the whole discharge of the San Juan. The solution of this problem will help to fix the bottom of the canal, and that will help very materially to fix the price.

The cost of building the canal has been variously estimated, Mr. Menocal made a detailed estimate of $65,000,000. The Canal Board of 1896 thought it would cost $133,000,000, but, in the testimony of the members before the committee of the House, it is evident that they regard $150,000,000 as the really safe limit which the constructor should have in view. The Report of the Canal Board announcing the estimate of $133,000,000 was subjected to some criticism by the Maritime Canal Company, the party then in interest, which was advocating a bill which contained the project of Menocal with a loan from the Government of the United States. How thoroughly that criticism was met can be seen in the testimony before the House committee, where the Canal Board, and especially its chairman, then Colonel and now General Ludlow, showed a complete mastery of the subject, so far as the short time and the small amount of money at their disposal would permit. It is only fair, however, to say that a considerable portion of increased estimate arose from the fact that the Canal Board felt that the exigencies of the case demanded a more commodious canal than the company contemplated.

Congress then placed the matter in the hands of a new Board already mentioned, of which Admiral Walker was the head. This Board has not yet reported, except in the informal way of testimony before the Senate committee. Not having digested the results of their surveys and examinations—indeed, not having made some of them at all—they were naturally reluctant to make state-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments of cost. So unprepared were they that the statements of the members differed by the large discrepancy of $50,000,000. As Admiral Walker put it: "We have made no figures. It is no use to figure until we have all our *data*." "Speaking as anybody on the street might speak," he puts it at $125,000,000, "and would not be surprised if it came considerably below that." Prof. Haupt thinks the canal could be constructed for $90,000,000, while General Hains, an army engineer, says: "I would not like to make a guess now and guarantee that I would be within 25 or 30 millions," but with that margin "of a possible reduction of $25,000,000 or $30,000,000," he states the maximum sum at $140,000,000. Of course, such estimates are not to be depended upon. When, in fact, you consider that the Suez Canal was estimated at $40,000,000, and constructed but with reduced dimensions of 72 instead of 125-feet bottom width for $110,000,000; that the Manchester Canal, executed, not in the tropics but in England, was estimated at $50,000,000 for all expenses of all kinds, and cost more than $75,000,000, we can be sure that the element of uncertainty as to cost will be quite likely to be great. There is so strong a desire on the part of some of our people to build this canal, that there is much intolerance of obstacles whether they be real or imaginary. Engineers are liable to be influenced unconsciously by this feeling. It was only when they were attacked, that one Board regretted that they had not said 150 millions where they had said 134; members of another Board gave large sums, but added the possibilities of large reductions. The influence of the wishes of ourselves and others never will cease to affect estimates of costs, but it never affects actual expense. While the testimony given by the members of the Walker Board was, in a certain sense, premature, and no one appreciated that more than the members themselves, it was certainly very useful, for it showed that the Canal Board had made the very objections which the maturer subsequent examination sustained. It seems apparent also from the testimony that the new Board have in contemplation the consideration of other routes and devices in various parts of the proposed canal which, together with the determination of the facts connected with the summit level, will give us such a knowledge of the conditions of the project as will enable us to determine the question of building, and that other important question, when, how and by whom it shall be built.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Much has been said about the feasibility of the canal, and it would be well to understand what that terms means. When the canal has been pronounced "feasible," it simply means that with time and money it can be built. Whether it should be built, when and how and by whom, are questions which depend upon other considerations as well as upon cost; though that is an important element. The Clayton Bulwer Treaty, it is claimed, gives to England at least the right to demand the same privileges we have. If so, we cannot use the canal, as suggested by Mr. Hepburn, to subsidise indirectly our merchant marine by giving them lower tolls or making the canal free to them alone. In time of war, a blown up dam or embankment might shut up a war vessel. In time of peace, however, there would be but small chance of damage.

As to the possible tonnage which would pass through, the subject has not been studied by any persons who were at once competent and unprejudiced. The estimates or rather prognostications run from 300,000 tons to 5,300,000 tons, certainly a great discrepancy. It would seem, therefore, that after the question of cost is determined, or perhaps while it is being determined, a commission of competent persons unprejudiced should be invited to study this part of the subject, and we shall be then equipped with the necessary facts to enable us to judge of the commercial success of the undertaking. In this connection we must reckon with the Panama Canal, which seems to be two-thirds excavated, and, taking into account the whole "installation" or plant for want of a better word, to be one-half finished. Vast sums of money have been spent there, and still more wasted or worse. It is estimated that $100,000,000 additional will now push it from ocean to ocean. Whether this is a sound estimate or not we do not know, for, unlike the Nicaragua Route, there have been no other investigations made than those made by the company through its employees. This matter will now be investigated by our people, and we have a right to make all proper inquiries, because by the Treaty of 1846 with Grenada we guaranteed the neutrality of this canal.

The Panama Canal was originally intended to be a sea-level canal running on that one level without locks from Ocean to Ocean. It is not needful for the purposes of this article to relate the history of its failure and of the disgrace and scandal connected

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with it. As a sea-level canal it was a failure, and no one now proposes to take up the enterprise in that form. To some, perhaps to many, Americans, it will be a surprise to know that, while the enterprise as a sea-level route has been given up, as a canal it has survived and is now in progress. Whether it will be built or not no one can definitely say, but the experience of mankind is that where so much money has been spent more money has almost always gone, and such works are quite likely to get finished. Were we able to free ourselves from ancient obligations and treaties, and make at Nicaragua such a canal as our people really want, a canal which would be part of us like the Sault St. Marie, other nations would have to finish the Panama. However that may be, it has seemed worth while, to enable us to give due consideration to the whole question, to state what the canal on the Isthmus is to be, if the great enterprise is ever carried out. Perhaps that can be best done by taking a ship over the route, as we have over that in which we have been specially interesting ourselves. We have to build our harbors, one at Brito on the Pacific and the other at Greytown on the Caribbean Sea. The other canal has two harbors made by nature: Panama on the Pacific and Colon on the Atlantic. These harbors are already connected by a railroad built long ago, while on the other route a double track railroad will have to be built at once from the Lake to both oceans before any work can be done. Transportation would otherwise be impossible in those almost uninhabited regions. From the harbor of Panama the ship is to go seven and a half miles on the sea level to Miraflores, where she will be lifted by one lock 23 feet, more or less, depending on the state of the tide, which has a range of 20 feet at this end; then she will go a mile and three-quarters to Pedro Miguel where two locks are to lift the ship 55½ feet to a new level 80 and 90 feet above the sea. The ship then moves one and three-quarter miles to Paradiso, where two locks are to lift her 55 feet more to the highest level, which is about 130 feet above the level of both oceans. Thence, over this high level she proceeds six and a quarter miles to Obispo, where she begins to descend towards the Atlantic. At Obispo three locks lower her 65½ feet, at which point she will reach the artificial lake to be made by damming the Chagres River an artificial lake which covers an area of 21 square miles. Through this lake the ship will journey thirteen miles to Buhio, where two

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

locks will lower her 65½ feet to the canal, which thereafter will be again at sea-level, and fifteen more miles at the sea-level will bring the ship to Colon and to the Atlantic Ocean. One more detail needs to be mentioned, for we shall want to know how the high level is maintained which constitutes six and a quarter miles of the journey. At Alhajuala, ten miles northeast of Obispo north of the canal line, the upper Chagres is to be dammed and a lake formed which will store 130 millions of cubic yards of water. A canal ten miles long, beginning 190½ feet above the sea, will conduct the water to the high level which begins at Obispo and ends at Miraflores. It will be over a rough country, but is claimed to be "feasible." There are other plans which lower the high level in different degrees, but they cost more money or more time. The level below the one described is, however, the one contemplated by the company at present. That means fewer locks.

In both these great enterprises, time of completion is a most important element; for interest runs all night and, on such vast sums, breeds other vast sums of which people take little heed. But while we lose sight of time it never loses sight of us, especially in the case of an interest account.

Two or three other facts seem necessary to complete what is, of course, only an outline of the situation on which our people are to pass.

The Panama people say they are at work now asking help from no one, employing 3,000 men and able to continue; whether they are or not will be determined, for we have taken steps to find out.

The Grace syndicate, representing many large capitalists, declare that they will in October have the right to build the Nicaragua Canal, and by their counsel, Mr. McClure, who says he is duly authorized, declare they are ready without any government aid to build and complete the project, treating the Government just as it desires to be treated.

If it should be found that two canals are ready to be built by private capital, or even one, the neutrality of one being guaranteed by the United States by the treaty of 1846, and both perhaps by the Clayton Bulwer Treaty, then we shall have to consider what we want further. If we want a canal built by the United States Government under its own control, with power to fix discrimina-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ting rates in favor of its own citizens, with due fortifications for time of war, then we must consider our foreign relations. It seems admitted by the friends of the Nicaragua Canal that these relations do not, as they stand now, admit such action on our part. Hitherto, the treaty in one way has been refused amendment by Great Britain, though thereto often requested. It is also not seriously expected that, even under the present roseate relations, any change of attitude will take place.

Even from the cursory description here given, liable, of course, to contain some inaccuracies, it will be seen that the facts to be gathered to establish the best route demand the expenditure of both time and money, but an expenditure after all not out of proportion to the magnitude of the undertaking. When you add to the picture the tropical growth and the climate, the wonder is that so much has been done. It is, on the other hand, not a wonder that so much remains to be done.

Congress has probably done well in giving ample funds, in the last River and Harbor Bill, for the full examination of both the proposed canals, and if that sum is used wisely by the selection of unprejudiced, sensible sources of information, we shall all be better off. There ought not to be any intolerance in regard to opinions on this great and important enterprise. It is too difficult a problem to be mastered by enthusiasm alone. Sound sense and discretion must also be called into action. The final result no one can doubt. The commerce of the world in due time will eliminate Cape Horn to as complete a degree as it has eliminated the Cape of Good Hope.

The uneasy dream of 400 years will soon be a waking reality, and, across the rock bound ridge which for all these years has defied the ingenuity of man, the great ships will go, freighted with the rich cargoes and the civilization of commerce and peace.

T. B. Reed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT SPAIN CAN TEACH AMERICA.

BY NICOLÁS ESTÉVANEZ, FORMERLY MINISTER OF WAR OF SPAIN.

THE great actor, Talma, used to frequent second and third rate theatres, and even amateur theatricals, because they offered the best opportunities for seeing the defects of actors and stage setting. So, likewise, should the colonial powers study the policy of Spain in her colonies, in rare cases to imitate her, but in many to learn wherein her example should be avoided.

The special advantage which modern peoples enjoy consists in the fact that the world is old. If a man needs to acquire the experience of life, nations can and should avail themselves of the experience of other nations, for that is the function of history.

Spain, with more examples before her than the other colonizing nations—for she was herself colonized by divers races—has, in general, exercised little skill in her colonial policy. She learned very little from the foreign colonies that, settling from time to time within her shores, gave to her blood, life and organization—the Phoenician, Carthaginian, Greek, Roman, Gothic, Arab and Moorish colonies. Among the numerous settlers of the Iberian peninsula, there were examples and contrasts of all kinds: Phoenicians, whose commercial instincts led them to establish a hundred factories on her coasts; Carthaginians, also merchants, who carried on wars in order to penetrate into every portion of the peninsula and extend their commerce everywhere; Greeks, who became permanent settlers with their wives and children, whose colonies preserve the artistic stamp of the Hellenic genius even at the present day. The Romans used and abused force to accomplish their conquest, triumphing finally over the Cantabrians and Iberians after a century of resistance; and, although Spain appears to be a Latin nation, and so accounts herself, she does not in reality retain any other legacy from these conquerors than her

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

language, the foundation of her laws, her military roads and her ruins. Subject to Rome—a condition from which all her misfortunes came to her at that time and since—Spain was the scene of the civil strife between Cæsar and Pompey. For her consolation she produced great Latin poets, like Lucan, Martial and others; learned men, like Columella and Seneca; heroes, like Lucius Balbus; famous emperors, like Trajan, Hadrian, Theodosius.

The invasion of the men of the North in the fifth century was the most peaceful of all. Kelts, Alani, Goths, Visigoths, Vandals and Suevi, though they warred among themselves, did not fight against the country. Taking advantage of Roman decadence to invade the empire, these barbarian hordes caused less devastation in the peninsula than the civilized armies of Rome. Far from imposing their language upon the people, they adopted that of the country; instead of plundering the Iberians, they tilled the fields, established families and founded towns.

Although considered ferocious, these peoples really effected a softening of manners and customs; perhaps too much so, for the invasion of the Mohammedans in the eighth century met but a feeble resistance, characteristic of a weak, effeminate and peaceful race.

In the eighth century began the repeated African and Arab incursions. Even the first one spread victoriously over the whole peninsula, without encountering much resistance from the Spaniards, because the Mohammedans respected the religious beliefs and customs of the conquered people. In this way, they transformed the race, invigorating it with new blood, the result being mixture of races rather than conquest. A handful of rebels, who had taken refuge in the mountains of Asturias and Aragon, began to reconquer the territory for Christianity, taking more than seven centuries to regain what had been lost in a few years. When the struggle was over, the blood of the Christians was as much Arabian as that of the Moors. During this long strife, the Spaniards were cured of their ancient effeminacy, and they acquired, by contact with the Arabs, the warlike and chivalrous habits which distinguished the Khalifs and Mohammedan chieftains.

During the Arab period, Cordova was a centre of civilization and culture, where the European Christians learned the Oriental sciences. The Moors set a wholesome example of civilizing toleration; for they everywhere and almost always respected the per-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sons, the beliefs and the practices of the conquered people. The Muzarabes were Christians who lived in Mohammedan cities, just as the Mudejares, later on, were Mohammedans who remained in the cities reconquered by the hosts of Castile or Aragon. The two races intermingled, each assimilating the merits and defects of the other; hence, the Spanish race which conquered the New World was not Latin, but Arab. Nothing could be more improper than to give the name of "Latin America" to the conquests of the Spanish adventurers and soldiers of the sixteenth century.

By the final triumph of the Christians and the expulsion of the Spanish Moors, a new nationality was established. The Spain of the sixteenth century was the most important nation of Europe. The peninsula contained twenty millions of inhabitants, a population which seemed destined to invade the adjoining continent. Africa would have become Spanish in the sixteenth century, if Columbus had not directed the energies of Spain into another channel by his successful voyage. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the peninsula was depopulated and impoverished; whole towns were abandoned by the emigration of their inhabitants to Mexico and Peru.

The change thus produced by America in the destinies of Spain would have been more profitable to humanity, and to Spain herself, if the Spaniards had known how to colonize with justice and wisdom. But the new-comers looked upon the New World only as a field for the acquisition of riches. They did, indeed, people it and Christianize it; but they treated the aborigines in some parts with so much cruelty that they annihilated them, while in others they ruined and degraded them.

Certain Spanish authors have defended their country from the charges brought against it by the historians. They say that the metropolitan government was from the first gentle, paternal and far-sighted; that it established mild laws (those of the West Indies were not so mild as they suppose); that, if it made the Catholic religion compulsory and was guilty of religious intolerance, the reason was that the same conditions prevailed in Spain.

Although wise laws and just decrees were sometimes ordained in Spain, they were of little avail in countries whose viceroys had discretionary power to execute them or not, as they pleased. On the other hand, the accusations that have been brought against the conquerors are as unanswerable as they are sad. They them-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

selves and their witnesses confirm the atrocities which are called in question, as may be seen in the narratives and chronicles of the conquest. Even if we reject the testimony of Father Las Casas, whose evident bias in favor of the Indian convicts him of exaggeration, many other witnesses remain whose testimony is absolutely irrefutable. Father Cieza does not state in round numbers how many victims perished, but he gives indirect confirmation, like several other chroniclers, according to whom the extermination of the natives was God's chastisement for their inhuman sacrifices. That is to say, that God punished them for sacrifices which they had ceased to make.

What is certain is that the native races of a great part of the Spanish-American continent continue to exist, while those of the Antilles have disappeared. Shortly after the conquest, it was found necessary to import natives from Florida to San Domingo and Cuba to do the work, because the aborigines of these islands had disappeared. It could not have been a punishment of inhumanity, because the inhabitants of these islands were not cannibals, as has been supposed. In Mexico, however, there had been human sacrifices and even cannibalism. Ferdinand Cortés relates in his letters that his Tlaxcaltecan allies devoured children after roasting them.

The efforts of Cortés and his companions, although excessive in their rigor, were of little avail to force Christianity on the Mexican Indians; a century after the conquest, according to the authentic testimony of the Spanish friars, the natives of Mexico, Nicaragua and Peru continued to worship their old gods, and secretly followed their ancient practices. Their Catholicism was only apparent, a pure formalism, to avoid persecution by the friars and viceroys.

The Castilians were not the only people responsible before humanity and history for the extinction of races in America.

The Portuguese, the French, the English and the Dutch were also guilty. It is, perhaps, for this reason that the distinguished historian, Bancroft, laments the arrival in America of the Europeans, and not that of the Spaniards alone.

The latter, not content with having been sometimes cruel and always harsh toward the indigenous races, disaffected the other European nations by excluding them from all commercial rights in the vast Spanish dominions; even to settle and live in Amer-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ica, a foreigner was obliged to become naturalized. Those who wished to settle had to become Spaniards and Catholics. Such a policy gave rise to an enormous contraband traffic which lasted for two centuries, and to an interminable series of fights with pirates, corsairs, filibusters and natives. The last repeatedly rebelled, and even the American born Spaniards, children of the conquerors and colonists, were from the first violent enemies of Spain, of her monopolies, of her laws. The first Mexican separatist was the son of Ferdinand Cortés.

It is evident that the Americans, the conquerors of to-day, will not fall into the errors of religious intolerance and commercial monopoly, which are unsuitable to these times. Nevertheless, they may make equally grave mistakes by treating the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos in an overbearing or unsympathetic manner. In general, the Anglo-Saxons of both hemispheres hold the theory which divides races into superior and inferior, a theory which is as false as it is unjust and dangerous. Even if it had a solid foundation and a scientific demonstration, it would only be humane and wise to elevate those who are not favored by nature or circumstances, instead of abasing and humiliating them. I foresee that the Americans will have difficulties in the Antilles, especially with the negro race, as they already have in the Philippine Islands, because they believe the natives unworthy of freedom. A great people like the Americans, a people who have cultivated federal principles ever since the foundation of their government, are obliged by self-respect to respect all autonomies. A people who have not self-government are not in the plenitude of their dignity and rights. The republicans of North America should treat all the inhabitants of their new possessions in a democratic spirit, and without humiliating and mortifying any by overbearing conduct. Man does not live by bread alone.

From the punishment of the Spaniards, tardy though it was, the Americans may learn whither intolerance and commercial exclusiveness lead. Observe what has happened at Mindanao. That rich and beautiful country, discovered by Spanish navigators in the sixteenth century, has never been conquered. The sovereignty of Spain has been merely nominal in it. Its inhabitants profess the religion of Mohammed, carried there by the Arabs. On the arrival of the Spaniards, the people of Mindanao perceived

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the disadvantage of their isolation, and the great future which the protection of Spain opened to them. They showed a disposition to submit, and asked only for the right to retain their religious beliefs. If that right had been granted, the island would have been a great source of wealth. And what was done? Something truly absurd, senseless, incredible: Spain would not accept the submission of the Mindanao Indians unless they were baptized. They were willing to sacrifice their very independence, but they would not their religious conscience; and, as the friars, the counsellors and even the judges of the governing race, knew no compromise in matters of religion, since the Spaniards wanted no subjects who would not begin by having water poured on their heads, for the sake of a few drops of water we had a war of three centuries with the people of Mindanao Island. Spain had possession of the coasts, but the Indians retained the greater part of their territory, and caused us great losses.

Mindanao now belongs to the United States; it will offer them less resistance than Luzon and the other islands, if the Americans respect the religion and customs of the inhabitants; but, if they try to force Christianity upon them, there is danger of a long and bloody struggle.

By means of tolerance and commerce, the Americans can accomplish in Mindanao in a few months what the Spaniards failed to do in a little more than three centuries.

All the European nations pride themselves upon the record of their ancient heroic deeds; all the peoples of the world have poets who sing of their struggles for freedom and independence; but Mindanao is still waiting for the poet and the historian of its admirable history. The ignorance of its inhabitants, due to the isolation in which they have been compelled to live by the Spaniards, who kept them blockaded, explains but too well their lack of chroniclers and poets. The sons of Mindanao have had more opportunity for sharpening lances than for cutting pens. Araucanian heroism was not sung by the natives of that country, but by Ercilla, a Spanish poet who had fought against them. Among the Spaniards who fought against Mindanao, there may have been fanatics, but there was no Ercilla. It may be that this glory is reserved for the Americans, who will find in Mindanao, not only a very fertile country, but the subject of a poem worthy of Homer. Troy defended herself for ten years, Mindanao for three hundred.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And let it not be said that modern civilization and the practical character of the Anglo-Saxons exclude poetry; let it not be alleged that the Muses have no place in those wild regions; for Art is a force, legends have more influence on the fate of races than history, and history itself is a poem.

May I be pardoned for this short digression and allowed to conclude by declaring that, as a Spaniard, I deplore the reverses of my country; but that I consider them deserved, and that Spain will some day rejoice in them, if the new lords of the Philippine Archipelago will constitute a new factor of universal progress, by establishing true freedom there.

Whether it is made an independent republic, or is incorporated in the United States, the inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago must at last be allowed to enjoy liberty and the dignity of manhood, which were trampled upon by impure priests and by merchants without a conscience, during the long dominion of Spain.

Let the Americans, then, beware, for the sake of their own dignity and prestige before the world, lest the outcome be merely a change of fanatics in the Philippines and a change of plunderers in the Antilles.

If such was the result of the Spanish rule, let it be proved once more that liberty is the atmosphere of life, that all races have a right to it, that the United States is not a plutocracy, as they say in Europe, but a true democracy, a model Republic and a great nation.

NICOLÁS ESTÉVANEZ.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ENGLAND IN EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

BY COLONEL CHARLES CHAILLÉ LONG, FORMERLY CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE LATE GENERAL GORDON, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SOUDAN.

THE declaration, cynically termed "Anglo-Egyptian Convention," which was signed by Lord Cromer and Boutros Pacha at Cairo, on January 19, 1899, is the fulfilment of the writer's repeated prediction that a protectorate or annexation was the purpose of the prolonged presence of England in Egypt. If the rôle of Cassandra is neither pleasant nor profitable, there is some compensation in belonging to the few who have not been duped by the solemn promises and repeated declarations of Great Britain, that her occupation was entirely disinterested and for the benefit of Egypt alone. The writer has maintained that the facts were opposed to these assertions, and that the British occupation, which began in 1882, was the culmination of an ambition which dates from the commencement of the present century.

A distinguished writer has said that the rôle of the historian is confined to putting down everything in its place, and that only when this is done may he be permitted to draw his own conclusions, in common with his reader. With this principle in mind, the writer deems it opportune to submit to the readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW some notes which will permit them to form an unbiased judgment,

England, it is true, has treated by convention with Egypt, if forcing a manacled hand may be dignified with the name of treaty, but it is not impossible, nay it is quite probable, that England will be forced to submit her action in Egypt and the Soudan to the arbitration of Europe.

Mr. Gladstone said in the House of Commons in 1883:

"I must remind the House that the onerous duty which we have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

undertaken in Egypt is to put down disorder, and thus establish some beginnings of tolerable government. That is a duty we have undertaken, not on our behalf only, but for civilization. We undertook it with the approval of the powers of Europe—the highest and most authentic organ of modern civilization. We must fulfil it as we received it from them. I know the word 'protectorate' is sometimes spoken; perhaps it is not spoken in its technical sense, but it is a dangerous word."

Just here it is appropriate to quote the words of a member of the House of Commons, replying to Mr. Gladstone on the occasion above mentioned. He said:

"You need not pretend to be disinterested. It is all a sham. The first object you had when you went to Egypt was to establish English interests. It was for the gospel of selfishness that you went, it was for the British interests, and, thank God, there are some people who will stand up for British interests."

For the purpose of this article, it might suffice to limit our review to the events of 1882, but the presence of Mr. Cecil Rhodes in South Africa, and the continued reference to his proposition to construct a road from the Cape to Khartoum and to Cairo, induce us to look backward a hundred years, that we may show that Mr. Cecil Rhodes' project was not born yesterday, but dates from the commencement of the century.

On August 1, 1798, Nelson destroyed the French fleet at Aboukir, and to-day there may be found upon the shores of Aboukir uniform buttons bearing the inscription "Army of Egypt," which sufficiently explains the original purpose of that army. The battles of July 25, 1799, which followed, and the victory of Kléber at Heliopolis on March 20, 1800, were a part of this plan. In 1806, Great Britain seized anew the Cape of Good Hope, colonized by the Dutch and by the French Huguenots, with the manifest purpose of joining the two points of Africa, the Cape and Cairo.

In 1807, under pretext of protecting Egypt against a renewed invasion of Bonaparte, Great Britain sent a fleet to Alexandria, which was repulsed by Mehemet Ali.

In 1840, England organized a coalition composed of Russia, Austria and Prussia, which, by the Treaty of London, July 15, 1840, undertook to settle the difficulty between the sublime Porte and the Pacha of Egypt, without the co-operation of France. Beyrout was bombarded by an English fleet for nine days, and reduced to ashes, and the Egyptian troops obliged to evacuate

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were replaced by the Turks. In 1859, during the war in which France was engaged for Italian independence, England sent a fleet to Alexandria for the purpose of occupying that city; but the peace of Villa Franca came just in time to prevent the disembarkment of troops destined to form an army of occupation.

In 1869, the missions of Sir Samuel Baker, as Egyptian Governor-General of the Soudan, and, later, of Colonel Gordon in the same capacity, were manifest indications of the policy of England in Egypt, and were intended to open the way to her future occupation of the country.

In 1869 a number of American military men replaced the French mission in Egypt. Great Britain protested, and requested Ismail Khedive to dismiss the American officers; but Ismail hesitated, and, on one plea or another, they were retained, but were finally discharged in 1879 on the plea of economy.

In 1874, General Gordon was sent to Egypt on detached service as Governor-General of the Soudan. Nubar Pacha inspired Gordon's nomination, but the extreme individuality and personal ambitions of the latter, rendered him a difficult instrument to manipulate solely for Government interest.

In 1875, the British Foreign Office, in accord with an English and American journalistic enterprise, sent an expedition to the African lakes, ostensibly in the interest of discovery, but in reality to hoist the British flag in Uganda.

Ismail Khedive forestalled that purpose by appointing, in 1874, an American officer, then in his service, Chief of Staff to Gordon, with instructions to proceed to Uganda in haste, and after executing a treaty with King M'Tesa, occupy the Nile with Egyptian military posts. This mission was promptly accomplished, and when, in April, 1875, the British expedition arrived at the capital of Uganda, bearing both a British and an American flag, it was confronted by the fact of an Egyptian occupation. Gordon's Chief of Staff had arrived nine months before, and, returning to Gondokoro, had taken with him the coveted treaty by which M'Tesa recognized Uganda and the Nile basin as Egyptian territory.

Great Britain neither forgot nor forgave this unexpected check to its ambition, which aimed, even in 1875, to take possession of Uganda and the head-waters of the Nile.

In 1879, General Gordon was recalled from the Soudan by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lord Cromer, on the plea that his financial administration of the provinces had been disastrous. It is claimed, indeed, that the British Government sent Gordon to the Soudan with a perfect knowledge of his iconoclastic ideas, and with the conviction that his administration would create disorder. However this may be, the revenue of the Soudan had disappeared, and Gordon himself avowed that he had "laid the egg which hatched the Mahdi," referring to his establishment of the monopoly of the ivory trade, a fact which well nigh ruined the Khartoum merchants, with whom the Mahdi was at that time affiliated.

In 1879, the prodigalities of Ismail, inspired by the wily Armenian Minister, Nubar, ended in a financial crisis. To the cries of distress of unpaid civil employees, were added the clamors of an army of 18,000 soldiers, whose arrears, due for thirty months, reduced them to the verge of starvation. Nubar proposed to disband the army without pay, a flagrant injustice, which provoked the revolt of the three colonels, led by Arabi Bey, whose first act was to administer a vigorous cuffing to Nubar and his English colleague. In the interest of European holders of Egyptian bonds, France, Italy, Germany and England demanded the abdication of Ismail, and, on June 20, 1879, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Mohamed Tewfik Pacha.

It is claimed by some that the interests of France were sacrificed to satisfy the bondholders; by others that Great Britain intended thus to punish Ismail for the offense of having executed the treaty whereby Uganda and the Nile basin were annexed to the Khedival domain. Great Britain's hostility to the American officer was made apparent, when subsequently, as military occupant of Egypt, she objected to his appointment as United States Diplomatic Agent to that country, because this officer, in fact, was in favor of the autonomy of Egypt.

The mild Mohamed Tewfik was but little prepared to struggle against the intrigues with which he was beset from the day of his accession to the throne. Informed of the hostile designs nourished by the British Government, in 1881 he addressed a letter of protestation to Lord Granville, who replied as follows:

"The English Government would act against the dearest traditions of its national history if it nourished the desire to diminish the liberty of the Khedive, or to break down the institutions to which she has given birth. It would not be difficult, if that were necessary, to show in referring to recent events that this government should be removed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from suspicions which, as you inform us, exist in Egypt as to its intentions."

Tewfik was reassured by Lord Granville's letter.

Time passed, and the simple military revolt for unpaid stipend grew into a serious insurrection, principally directed against the European and the Christian.

On June 11, 1882, occurred the massacre of Europeans at Alexandria. On July 11 an English fleet bombarded Alexandria. The battle of Tel-el-Kebir followed, and the outcome was the British occupation.

One day in 1882, shortly after the occupation, Tewfik was again admonished, this time that Great Britain had come to stay, notwithstanding the assurances of Lord Granville. The situation, he was told, might be compared to that in which a fireman who had assisted in extinguishing a conflagration, but was pleased with the building he had preserved, concluded not only to remain, but to put out the rightful owner. Tewfik, in great alarm, addressed a communication, dated July 22, 1882, expressing his fears to Lord Seymour, commanding the British fleet at Alexandria. The admiral's reply was as follows:

"I, the Admiral commanding the British fleet, believe it opportune to confirm without delay to your Highness that the Government of Great Britain has no intention to make the conquest of Egypt, nor indeed to make any attack in any way against the religion or the liberties of the Egyptians. The Government has only the unique purpose of protecting your Highness and the people against the rebels."

In 1883, Lord Dufferin was sent to Egypt, and, while there, declared that the zone of English intervention was limited to Wady Halfa. Nevertheless, during the same year a railroad plant was disembarked at Suakim for the avowed purpose of constructing a railway to Berber, a purpose which Osman Digma, the Mahdi's lieutenant, successfully prevented.

General Gordon's return to the Soudan in 1884, notwithstanding the generally accepted judgment on that subject, was in direct opposition to the wishes of Mr. Gladstone, of Sir Evelyn Baring and of Tewfik Pacha, the Khedive. Tewfik protested to the very last moment, and, explaining the religious character of the movement, urged that no Christian or European could control the rebellion, but that his presence would only add fuel to the flames, and he finally predicted that Gordon would never return. There was another potent argument used by the Khedive,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but the writer does not feel at liberty to announce it at present, and that for certain reasons of state.

Mention is made here of Gordon's return to the Soudan, because of the dramatic incidents which followed; but the writer, with an intimate knowledge of the question, is of the opinion that neither Mr. Gladstone nor his Government should be held responsible for Gordon's action, which was inspired by a purely personal ambition. The tardy attempt to rescue Gordon is quite another question, and beyond the scope of these notes.

Dr. Schnitzer, or Emin Bey Hakim, after General Gordon's retirement in 1879 from the Government of the Equatorial Provinces, became the Egyptian Governor-General *ad interim.*

In 1886, Emin Bey Hakim, feeling himself neglected by Egypt, decided to sell the provinces of which he was the guardian, and he therefore made propositions in that sense to Lord Iddesleigh, Secretary of the Britsh Foreign Affairs. Immediately a cry of urgency went up in England for the "succor of Emin." The Foreign Office in the name of Sir Wm. MacKinnon put 30,000 pounds, sterling, in the hands of Stanley, who hastened to Egypt, where 10,000 pounds more were added from the Egyptian Treasury to pay Emin for the sale of Egyptian provinces. The writer denounced the fraud which was being perpetrated in an open letter addressed to the Khedive of Egypt, which said:

"The series of robberies of Egyptian territories accomplished since 1882, Monseigneur, should put us on guard against the acts of this pretended expedition for the succor of Emin, who, after the latest news, is in perfect health and in no danger or want whatsoever. I invite the attention of your Highness to the fact that the Stanley Expedition can have no other object than to take from Egypt the Provinces of the Equator and the Nile Basin, which I have annexed to the Khedival crown. I protest, therefore, in the name of Egypt against this premeditated rape."

In an article on the subject in the *Nouvelle Revue* of Paris, in the number for March 15, 1887, the writer said:

"At the moment when an effort is made to plant for all time the English flag in Uganda on the borders of the Great Lakes, it becomes my duty to speak. The English expedition hides, under the appearance of succor to Emin, a political design conceived a long time ago. It is the first step *en avant* towards the constitution of an immense Anglo-African Empire."

The burlesque rescue expedition left London amid the hurrahs and systematic tears of the public and the Foreign Office, which latter had taken care to furnish its chief with Emin's

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

letters. It does not appear, however, why Stanley was also carrying with him a proposition from the East African Association, and one also from His Majesty the King of Belgium. The secret of the affair, now *secret de Polichinelle*, is that Emin expected a large sum of money for his proffered provinces from his *soi-disant* rescuer; but he received not a cent, hence the hesitation of Emin. The agent of the British Foreign Office profited by the delay to sow discord among Emin's people, and, when this was accomplished, the latter was obliged to follow his captor to the coast. The object at which Great Britain aimed in sending Stanley to Uganda in 1875 was thus achieved in 1890 by the occupation of Uganda by the British East African Association.

The *Anglo-Congolais* incident followed, which consisted in a convention, executed in London in 1891, by the terms of which, in consideration of a band of territory 25 kilometres in width, situated between the lakes Tanganyika and M'Outa N'Zighe or Albert Nyanza, the British East African Association, or, in other words, the Foreign Office, abandoned to the Congo Free State the left banks of the Lake Albert Nyanza and of the Nile as far as 5 degrees latitude, north. The French Government, by virtue of rights reserved in the charter of the Congo Free State, protested against this cession of territory belonging to the Congo Free State, and the treaty, signed May 12, 1894, by King Leopold and Lord Rosebery, was practically annulled by a convention signed at Paris between France and the Congo Free State, August 14, 1894. Great Britain on the demand of Germany restored the band of territory to the Congo Free State.

The *entente* between the British East African Expedition and the Congo Free State was made manifest by this incident, and it is likewise apparent that the King of Belgium was in accord with Great Britain as to the real purpose of the so-called Emin Relief Expedition.

Great Britain, in the recent affair of the occupation of Fashoda by the Marchand mission, claimed that Fashoda was Egyptian territory, and that France by such occupation violated the existing treaties which had been invoked by France herself and by all preceding Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The argument, in fact, was unanswerable,

The occupation of Fashoda might have been treated by France as a political point, from which she might have, with plausibility,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

declared that her occupation meant simply her assumption of former rights, which she had temporarily vacated in 1882 in refusing to join Great Britain in the bombardment of Alexandria—that Fashoda in fact meant the re-establishment of the *status quo ante bellum* of 1882. The occasion was favorable to invoke the arbitration of Europe, declaring that France would maintain her occupation of Fashoda only so long as England maintained possession of Uganda, Zeileh, Kassala and other Egyptian provinces, which had been seized for the sole and separate account of England, and where, in violation of the very treaties invoked against France, England had set up and maintained not an Egyptian but an English administration. The opportunity to administer a severe rebuke to England and punish her with her own weapons was thus lost. The error, on the part of the French Government, was so manifest that it provoked numerous declarations of protestation in the Chamber of Deputies. Great Britain's occupation of Egypt, in fact, has been rendered the more easy by the series of mistakes and lost opportunities which have marked the last twenty years.

The first of these errors was the regrettable differences between the French Diplomatic Agent and the French Controller General of Finances in Egypt, which led to the disavowal of the former by his Government, when, had he been sustained, Arabi's rebellion would have been restrained within its just limits.

Secondly, the dethronement of Ismail Pacha, in 1879, was accomplished on the joint action of England, Germany and France. This act, both impolitic and arbitrary, especially for France, indicated the power and authority of the French holders of Egyptian bonds, who thus, unconsciously perhaps, sacrificed the political and commercial interests of France to the interests of her bondholders.

Thirdly, France should have co-operated with the British in suppressing the military revolt of Arabi Pacha.

Fourthly, she should have sanctioned in 1883 the disembarkment of Admiral Conrad at Port Said. Such disembarkment would have restored the *condominium* and the *status quo ante bellum*.

Fifthly, she should not have refused in 1884 to ratify the convention between M. Waddington and Lord Granville, whereby England was willing to fix the date of her promised evacuation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sixthly, she should not have declined in 1887 to accede to a second convention proposed by Sir Drummond Wolff, with a view to the evacuation of Egypt.

This bill of errors is incomplete, but it may be concluded by mentioning a proposal which, had it been accepted, would have indubitably given to France the key to Egypt, and have re-established her prestige and power in that country.

The writer acted as the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States Government at Alexandria in 1882, at the request of the citizens of the United States in Cairo and Alexandria, and with the approval of the Government at Washington, whose titular agents abandoned their posts in a moment of danger and fled to Europe. Returning from Egypt in 1883, the writer submitted a note, dated December 11, 1883, to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, based upon certain representations made to him by a competent authority, by which he proposed to assume the command (conjointly with King John) of an Abyssinian army of 200,000 Abyssinians, which, from Adowa, he would direct against Gallabat on the Blue Nile and Khartoum, where, after crushing the Mahdi, he would declare King John the Sultan of the Soudan under the protectorate of France. The proposition carried with it no responsibility nor expense; it was an occupation of Abyssinia and the Soudan, to which France was invited by King John. M. Ferry, then Minister, replied that the question of Tonkin had caused him already sufficient trouble, and that he had no desire to add to his sobriquet of *Tonkinois* that of *Abyssinien*.

The writer's note must have been thrown into the waste basket of the ministry. However this may be, a translation appeared in an English journal forty-eight hours thereafter, followed by the significant announcement that an English mission under Admiral Hewett would leave London for Adowa that night, charged with a special mission to King John. It seems that Admiral Hewett at Adowa tried in vain to induce King John to march upon Khartoum. It is possible, too, that the French Consul at Massowah may have been instrumental in explaining to King John the impolicy of such an act, for Admiral Hewett failed to accomplish the object of his mission.

Five years later, toward the end of February, 1889, King John, failing to induce France to accept his overtures, decided to under-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

take the conquest of Khartoum alone. He left Gondar with 150,000 warriors. Descending the Bahr-el-Azrak, he arrived at Gallabat on March 9, 1889, where he attacked and defeated the principal army of the Mahdi. Victorious, he was about to resume his march upon Khartoum, when he was killed accidentally by a spent ball. The victorious march was arrested, the chiefs engaged in jealous wrangling as to who should assume the chief command; and, during the disorder which ensued, the Mahdists recovered from their defeat, and, attacking the mutinous camp, drove the Abyssinians back to the Abyssinian frontier.

Had the French Government accepted the writer's proposition five years before, there is scarcely a doubt that the Abyssinian army of 200,000 warriors could have been led victoriously to Khartoum, for with each Abyssinian chief it was proposed to place an experienced European commander. King John, during the year 1884, would have been crowned Sultan of the Soudan (which, by parenthesis, would have fulfilled both an Arab and an Abyssinian tradition). Besides, the return of General Gordon to the Soudan would have been forestalled; and, consequently, the world would not have had to lament the irreparable and useless sacrifice of the hero of Khartoum.

In 1894 the writer again submitted the possibility of taking Khartoum, this time to M. Casimir Périer, Minister for Foreign Affairs, who received him in private audience on January 17, 1894. The minister listened with earnest attention to the proposition, which was to do with King Menelik what M. Ferry had failed to do with King John. M. Casimir Périer objected that both England and Italy had secured a footing on the Abyssinian coast since 1883, and that any expedition from the Red Sea, by way of Obok, might cause complications with Italy.

The writer could not, of course, combat these objections; but, not only to the minister, but also to certain members of the Colonial Group, he insisted that any expedition having the Nile as an objective point, should be sent from Obok, either down the Bahr-el-Azrak or Blue Nile, or from Obok down the Sanbat, the objective point in either case being Khartoum. Such an expedition, needless to say, should be based upon a strong, offensive military force, capable of crushing, if need be, the Mahdists or the British. The writer was asked by a member of the Colonial Group if he would accept the command of a mission having its

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

point of departure from the Mobangi, and he clearly and explicitly refused; but, on the other hand, he expressed his willingness to accept the command of an expedition having its base on the Red Sea, with Khartoum as an objective point, supported by an Abyssinian army. Judge, then, of the writer's surprise when, several months prior to the recent affair on the Nile, he learned of Captain Marchand's defenseless mission to Fashoda!

Fashoda, it must be assumed, was a mere incident, and not the terminus of this mission; which, if it did not propose to go at once to Khartoum, should have at least crossed the river 100 or more miles south, and occupied the mouth of the Sanbat, where, aside from the defenses of the two rivers, it could secure its communications with Abyssinia. Fashoda, during General Gordon's administration of the Soudan Provinces, marked the southern limit of the Governorat of Khartoum; it was an Egyptian penitentiary, a desolate and unhealthy place of exile to which were relegated those who had incurred the disfavor of the Khedival palace at Cairo.

In conclusion it will prove instructive to quote from an article by the writer, entitled "*Du Cap au Caire,*" which was published in *La Nouvelle Revue,* August 15, 1895:

"Khartoum is the key to the Soudan; for England it is more, it is the door to the African continent, to which she has aspired for a hundred years. Should England seize this last remaining Egyptian province, she establishes effectively her route from the Cape to Cairo, and thus becomes the mistress of Egypt."

It was Mr. Gladstone who reminded us that England interfered in Egyptian affairs "with the approval of the powers of Europe." England cannot escape her responsibility to Europe, which fully understands that Egypt is not the property of any one nation, but the common property of the world, "an international passage way indispensable to the commerce of all nations."

Europe, therefore, is the arbiter of the destinies of Egypt; and it needs no voice of Cassandra to predict that England will not be permitted to consummate her ambition in Egypt, even though that ambition is a century old.

CH. CHAILLÉ LONG.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW POETRY.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

ANY inquiry into the facts concerning a phase of literature primarily, if not mainly, interesting to the younger sort of readers must begin with a certain misgiving in the inquirer as to his fitness for making it, if he is himself no longer so very young. Poetry exists so largely in the pleasure it gives, that if one does not find the pleasure in it that one formerly found, one is apt to think it does not exist at all. The sage is often disqualified for instruction upon such a point by the very years which have enriched his knowledge. He is too ready to say, for example, that people do not read poetry nearly so much as in his day, because he does not now read it himself so much; and, of course, he is ready to infer that this is because it is not so well worth reading. It is some such disability in the sage, which, I think, one would do well to keep in mind while listening to his conclusions with the respect due his venerable age.

I.

After all, it is the point of view which governs in matters of this kind. It is always easy to show that what passes for poetry in any given time is not poetry, because it is not of the mood and temperament of the poetry of another given time. Pope was once a great poet, and then he was a very small poet, or none at all; again people are beginning to think there was a good deal of poetry in Pope. It has been so with Byron, even to the same sort of renaissance. Wordsworth began by being no poet at all in both the popular and the critical estimation; then he was one of the greatest poets; now it is doubtful if he was one of the greatest. Longfellow's acceptance was once far more than English-wide; now the sun sets in more than one region on his fame. It must

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be owned, even by those who, like me, thought him all but divine, that Tennyson is in a certain eclipse; outside of the Browning Clubs, if there are still Browning Clubs, it will be allowed that Browning is on the wane. Doubtless both these poets are destined to a renaissance, but hardly to a revival of the midday and evening glories that are past for them. One or two fixed stars shine steadfastly in the firmament; but there was a long spell of weather when Milton could hardly be seen even with a glass; and there was more than a century when Shakespeare could be made out only by the curious observer. It would, perhaps, be safe to say that the time will never come again when Shakespeare will be read less than now; but as for Milton, has his renaissance quite lasted to our day? We all know, or we all own, his greatness; but do we read him?

Within the memory of men still young, or at least of women still young, there have been finer gradations of change by which poets, still favorites, have been shifted in their standing, and are topped in the public favor by other poets, cunning to say the last thing that the public thinks it thinks. One need not go nearly so far back as Mr. Swinburne or as William Morris or Dante Rossetti for illustration; one need go back only so far as Mr. Andrew Lang or Mr. Austin Dobson, who were before Mr. Kipling was, or Mr. Watson was. The poetry of Mr. Lang and of Mr. Dobson was concurrent with an emotion which has exhausted itself, from which it sprang, which it prolonged, and of which it remains the charming record; but it is not the poetry first in the mind and heart of 1899, as it was in the mind and heart of 1889.

II.

Then, what is the poetry first in the mind and heart of 1899? I believe I have said what in naming Mr. Kipling, who is at this moment, possibly, the most famous man in the world, and whose work, in some sort of measure, is known almost as widely as his name. All must own this, whatever any may think of his work; and it seems to me that the fact ought to dispose of the doubt whether this is a poetry-reading age. In no other age has the celebrity, the performance of a poet been so far-reaching as those of this young man of thirty-two; and I do not forget Byron in saying this. Of course, the means of universal diffusion are vastly greater than in Byron's time; but the world is also larger.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The fact has not so much to do with the quality of Mr. Kipling's poetry as we might think, and I may safely say this in my sense of its great qualities. It is none the less a prodigious thing to utter one's age, or one's day, as Mr. Kipling has uttered his, to sound the dominant of its scale so that it shall be felt in the nerves vibrating to the limit of our race, which is our world. The prodigy is none the less because this dominant is the note of race-patriotism, which is so much less pleasing to some fine ears than "the still, sad music of humanity." It is a mighty and a lusty note, full of faith and hope; and it is the note which makes Mr. Kipling famous wherever an Anglo-Saxon word is spoken or an Anglo-Saxon shot is fired; it stirs the blood both of Briton and American; and it is not the poet's reproach if they forget the deeper meanings of his song. He says what he came to say; he happened in the time which could hear his voice; he does not so much teach as tell; but no doubt the time will come when the warning in his message will be plain to senses now holden. It may not be plain to our American senses, till we have trampled into the red mire of tropic morasses the faith in men which made us the hope of men; but that is not the blame of a poet who has read us and said us more keenly than any alien before.

It is inevitable that the universal acceptance of Mr. Kipling should ignore the beauty of his work, except such obvious beauty as lives in its potent music and its bold picturesqueness; but the other sort of beauty can safely bide its time; for, though he is so immensely and intensely of our day, he is not for our day alone. He is useful to the present argument as a proof that our day is not so prosaic as it might seem without his overwhelming popularity. But in the same sky with the comet blaze there are lambent planets to which the eye turns from the wonder and the portent, and willingly gives a watch of the night. The wonder and the portent is not less in its kind because of their difference in brightness; and the difference is so great that any sort of parallel would be futile and tiresome.

III.

I shall not, therefore, try to contrast my pleasure in Mr. William Watson's poetry with my pleasure in Mr. Rudyard Kipling's poetry, or in fact do much more than affirm it. But I may say without disadvantage to either that there is in Mr. Watson's verse

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nothing of the primal force of Mr. Kipling's, that swing of orient seas, that beat of orient suns. One is English where the other is Imperial; one is contemplative where the other is mystical; one feeds his flocks beside the Thames, the other drives his herds over the Asian plains, where our race began, and arrives from the morning with something of the eldest splendor upon him. It should not be strange, though it is surpassingly interesting, to note how much more immediate the one poet is who is really less modern than the other; for our passions are always of the prime, while our convictions are the slow effect of an educated conscience beginning late in the centuries.

Mr. Watson's work is very charming to me, because I find in it a grace that seems to have come willingly and quietly; a gentle insight; a serene thoughtfulness; most intelligent sympathy with the peculiar things that are the universal; a gracious doubt; a delicate passion; an essential repose. His unwearying and unerring art, the perfect music of his phrase, the exquisite good fortune of his diction are the minor qualities that follow the clear thought and the pure feeling. Here, in this time which some of us have been saying is unpoetical, is a poet who recalls the glory of the golden age when Keats and Shelley, when Coleridge and Wordsworth were reluming the Elizabethan splendors of English rhyme, and lighting the way for Tennyson and Browning. With like magic he has won his way into the hearts that love the great tradition, and his unquestioned welcome by a large average of readers is proof that he has not fallen upon an inhospitable day. It appears that we not only love poetry, but we love poetry that often deals with life through literature, and in its most direct appeals has still something to remind us of books, and, in the new pleasure it imparts, to make us remember old pleasures. Any one looking through the recent volume of Mr. Watson's Collected Poems must be struck with the large number of pieces recording his veneration and affection for the masters who embody the spirit of poetry for him, and whose genius he divines and announces so subtilely. Wordsworth, Shelley, Arnold, Lander, Shelley again, Tennyson, Shakespeare, Keats, Dobson, Byron, Shakespeare again, Aubrey de Vere, Burns, Aldrich: these, in this accidental order are the channels, if not the sources of poetry, to which he recurs, and from which he draws as fresh inspiration as he draws from life. They are, of course, as much a part of life as anything

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

else in the world; not all the books are found in running brooks, not all the sermons in stones. The poems that deal with these poets are each a characterization full of the surprise and rapture of perfection. When the poet leaves his library he is still in his scholar's gown, and he does not see nature or human nature less truly or clearly because he sees it with the scholar's eye.

Mr. Watson is very English, and when he stretches a hand across the channel or across the ocean it is with a sense of effort, at least in the witness. But he is not chauvinist English, even if he is helplessly English. He has not escaped the white man's burden of patriotism, but his patriotism is not blindly proud, and it is for England's true glory, for the humanity and the mercy which she seems to have forgotten in her fury of imperialism. The sonnets in which he reproaches her for her acquiescence in Turkish cruelties are quite as noble as if they had or could have any effect upon her policy; his patriotism is not the grain of sand between the teeth of alien readers which patriotism is apt to be. Still, patriotism of whatever sort is not a spring of the purest and sweetest poetry; commonly, it is a source thick with ignorance and self-interest, reflecting the most cockahoop conceit; but the worst that can be said of Mr. Watson's patriotism is that it entreats England to remember her old humanity as if it were something English, and not something common to good men of all climes and races.

IV.

If one were to sum up one's sense of Mr. Watson's poetry as a whole, one might speak of it as a delicate and beautiful criticism of life in man and things, of life in books and souls. When one had done this, however, one would not be satisfied, for it would seem to limit the poet on sides where the most elastic praise could not well confine him. In like manner, if one were to say of a somewhat newer English poet that, with whatever foregleams his path was crossed, Mr. F. B. Money-Coutts had not yet found his way quite into the light, that his thinking had not always become thought, that his artistic deed was still often in the artistic will, one would be doing injustice to a measure of performance that gives the hope of much more. He is to be counted with those later English poets who wish their countrymen to think and feel sanely, and he is imbued with the humanity and the spiritu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ality which, if they mistakenly like to claim themselves English, are not otherwise in error. He adds his voice to those that, in a war-drunken time, are for peace; and throughout his work is the beauty of rightmindedness, which in itself is a sort of genius, and which lends the grace of quite a new attitude, of an impassioned conscience in certain pieces of his dealing with passion.

The same purity is in the poetry of Mr. E. H. Coleridge, which is more purely poetry, and more singly devoted to the things in which the universal masks as the personal. It is interesting and it is charming to find this new Coleridge at his best in the fantastic strain, the playfulness, the intimacy in which the ancestral Coleridge excelled. There are three characterizations, or portraits of young girls, so young as to be not yet young girls, which are as delicately critical as Mr. Watson's studies of poets; and in all Mr. Coleridge's verse there is the better modern spirit, the spirit which is beginning to reflect upon what it has thought, and which upon the whole seems to me the distinguishing spirit of the new English poetry.

I find this so in the poems of Mr. Stephen Phillips, a much more passionate poet than Mr. Watson, or Mr. Money-Coutts, or Mr. Coleridge, but of much the same critical, the same ethical fineness. My words undersay it, of course; I mean something rarer than critical, something better than ethical, and perhaps I had better retreat upon such a word as spiritual. Spiritual in a fine way Mr. Phillips's work is, running into frank realism where a modern theme is dealt with, and keeping a high idealism where the question is of fable, or of faith. His poems of "The Woman with a Dead Soul," and "The Wife" are examples in the one sort, and his "Marpessa" and "Christ in Hades" are instances in the other. In power of picturing to the imagination they are all of like charm, and in them all one feels the glow of the poet's youth. Tennyson at his age had not done better; but the tint, if any, that he has from Tennyson is that of the mature fancy working in such things as "Sea Dreams" and "Tithonus." There are a few more of the beautiful words than one could wish, perhaps (I found myself senilely impatient of them at last), but Mr. Phillips's words are beautiful; they were never so securely elect as Mr. Watson's; but, then, whose words are?

The same spiritualized reality, the same suggestion of the middle-period of Tennyson, are in some things of Mr. John Dav-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

idson's, some of his greatest things, though he is greatest of all when he is most himself. "The Ordeal" and "The Coward" are poems that need not be abashed in the presence of the best of the Idyls of the King; they are both indeed poems of surpassing truth and pathos; but the very John Davidson speaks with his own voice to supreme effect in such pieces as "The Hymn of Abdul Hamid," the tremendously veracious "War-Song," "Holiday at Hampton Court," "Waiting," "The Aristocrat," and that eclogue between "The Artist and the Votary." Till now, English speech has uttered no such burning truth about the shame of selfish diplomacy, the inalienable criminality of aggressive war, the horror of prison-waste, the hardy insolence of money-might, the hope of life that dwells among the dead. It is all far more than worth reading; it, perhaps more than any other new poetry, embodies the universal human spirit, the spirit of the vast unfriended, unbounded commonness, before which imperialism shrinks to the measure of parochialism. It would be a wrong that I should deeply regret if I gave an impression of something hortatory, something less than artistic in work so splendid, and I wish to say that this poet is never so much a poet as when he is giving voice to the mute protest in every conscience against the ferocious pretences of our Zeitgeist.

V.

Tennyson is gone, Browning is gone, Rossetti and William Morris are gone; Swinburne is silent; the verse of Mr. Dobson, so airily imaginative, so graciously creative, is not of the immediate charm it once was; and a new kind of English poetry, spiritualized, humanized, has appeared in the books which I have been so ineffectually studying. So far as it is characterized by the past it is characterized by the art of Tennyson, and reasonably so because that is the supreme poetic art. There are also hints of Wordsworth, hints of Keats, hints of Shelley in the new poetry; but no hint of Byron, and what is stranger, none of Browning; perhaps because these were not artistic poets, and the new poetry is as artistic as it is spiritual.

As a condition of English poetry, what has American poetry to show? With us the greatest ones are gone, too. Bryant, Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, Holmes, have passed into a shadow which shall lift more or less hereafter. We have Mr. Stedman and Mr. and Mrs. Stoddard, we have Mr. Aldrich and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Gilder, we have Mr. Hay and Mr. Harte, we have Mr. and Mrs. Piatt, who all continue our old tradition and are all poets of true quality and of ascertained importance. But they write little, and they are hardly, with all their charm, characteristic of the time. Foremost of our poets who have spoken to and for the day which is not yet yesterday, I should say was James Whitcomb Riley, who has known how to endear himself to a wider range of American humanity than any other American poet. If his popularity were the sole proof of the enduring love of poetry among us it would be no weak proof. It might not imply that poetry generally was so much read as it once was, but it would imply that poetry of exquisite loveliness in whatever guise it wore had come home to the common heart as it had not before. Probably the most widely read American poems in their time were Longfellow's "Hiawatha" and Whittier's "Snow-Bound;" but Mr. Riley's poetry is much more widely read than either. It reaches the lettered as well as the unlettered; it has had the courage of the familiar, the homely, qualities which are the most widely felt, and it is not because it is American (although we like it so), but because it is human that it finds its way over the fruitful levels where men are all equal. I do not prize it less than the new English poetry in form or spirit, for I think Mr. Riley a very great artist, with insight as subtile as the best of the new English poets, and sympathy as generous. The Hoosier parlance which he has subdued to rhyme has not the consecration which time has given the Scottish dialect in Ramsay and Burns, but it says things as tenderly and as intimately, and on the lips of this master it is music. If he is above all others the American poet, his primacy is significant of a more entire liberation to our native genius than we have yet realized; at the least and lowest, here is a poet who could have come in no other time or place than ours; and quite so much could not have been said of any American poet before. One feels this not only in his Hoosier verse, but in his poems in literary English; he is still essentially the poet of our common life; and perhaps hereafter the soul of that life may be divined best, in its sweetness and sincerity and purity, in the verse which is of such friendly familiarity that some may not yet prize it aright.

The American poet who has the closest affinity with the new English poets in their artistry is Mr. Madison Cawein. A more

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meridional heat and lustre is in the verse of this young Kentuckian, which at one time seemed rather to lose its meaning in the mere tints and dyes of phrase, but which has since cleared itself and runs with a crystalline limpidity. It is not Keats who is repeated in his poetry, but the "simple, sensuous, passionate" ideal of Keats, as in Keats himself the old Elizabethan and Chaucerian ideal was repeated. Mr. Cawein has not yet found the public to which he is destined, and when it is found it may not be a very large one, but it will be choice, and of a devoted belief in him.

Something like this might be said of Mr. Lloyd Mifflin, a name yet much unknown to that general reader who is so vague and intangible, but who must be invoked before a fit audience can be got together for any poet. In the volume of sonnets, called "At the Gates of Song," this poet makes his appeal to the best in us, with a mastery of his instrument as extraordinary as the sense is high and noble. What strikes one most in this very striking group of poems is the power both pictorial and intellectual which represents a new quality of thinking and feeling, or a new way of rendering the serious and significant aspects of life. If such a book were altogether to fail of recognition it would be the most damaging witness against a time which I think has been unjustly accounted prosaic. But a little more courage to know what is undeniably great, although it is our own, seems to me still desirable in our criticism, and when that comes, Mr. Mifflin's poetry will have its reward.

From all this it is a long way to the far different region where Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Stetson has made a place of her own. Her civic satire is of a form which she has herself invented; it recalls the work of no one else; you can say of it (and I have said this before), that since the Biglow Papers there has been no satire approaching it in the wit flashing from profound conviction; but this comparison suggests a likeness which does not exist; the humor and sarcasm of Mrs. Stetson, indeed, teach by parable, but not through character as the Biglow Papers do. They are distinctly and unmistakably a force, but how widely they are felt, I cannot say. The time has already come when nearly the whole reading and writing population of the North claims to have sprung from the Original Abolitionists, and the Biglow Papers are now of a respectable acceptance which their writer never dreamed of or cared for when he wrote them; but

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the time has not yet come when we desire to have the Original Socialists for our ancestors, and I am afraid that the acceptance of Mrs. Stetson's satire is mostly confined to fanatics, philanthropists and other Dangerous Persons. But that need not keep us from owning its brilliancy.

The contribution of Mr. Hamlin Garland to what one might call, without offence, Americanistic poetry, is something too notable to be passed over. The prairies and the woods, the cornfields and the coulés of the Northern West speak in his verse, a little too consciously, perhaps, but always strenuously and with a native charm, in a voice not to be mistaken for any other's. The poems are sometimes wronged by a wilful rudeness of form, but they are not spoiled by it, and there is the hope of yet greater things in them.

I name, rather at random, certain of our poets who seem to me cases in point, and I am not trying to name all who are worthy of mention. But I could not leave out the name of Paul Dunbar, the young negro poet, who has won popularity as well as recognition. It is a proof of the love of poetry in a time and country apparently so prosaic as ours that he has quickly made himself widely known, and has found not only favor but affection. It is not as a phenomenon that he has done this, not merely as the first negro who has been able to deal objectively with negroism; it is as something far more positive, it is as an absolute poet. In the verse that he has written since his earliest volume was published, he has carried his work on rather than up; but if he went no higher than the mark he struck at first he would still have made good his claim to our attention, and would have become inalienably a part of our literary history.

VI.

The group of young Canadian poets whom we have learned to enjoy is as a whole rather more dramatically impressive than any like groups among ourselves. Death has lately hushed the sweetest and clearest voice among them; Archibald Lampman is no more. But his spirit abides and his art remains. The one sought to interpret faultlessly in the other the beauty of the summer which burns amidst the northern snows; and the first thing to be said of all the Canadians is that they are all naturalists. Bryant himself was not more direct and single in his worship of nature

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than these young poets who are not otherwise like him. In him was a cold electric flame thrilling from the deeply intellectualized sources of the puritan consciousness; but these young Canadians, who are so like us other Americans, and who have some of them made their home with us, derive æsthetically from the England that was before, and has been since, the time when puritanism fixed a gulf between her and us. They are on all accounts a most interesting group, which I should like to study more closely and fully; but a passing glance divines them in the superficial traits that represent their essential qualities. They are pictorial, rather than dramatic; the characteristic which they have most in common is that love of nature in which each of them appears a sort of solitary. Their delicate art is curiously unsocialized; the pulse of the time which beats so strongly in the new English poetry is scarcely felt in their rapture with their native skies and woods and lakes.

At least this is the impression that their work has left with one who does not pretend to know it exhaustively, but still has greatly enjoyed it. One might easily make too much of it; after all, it is not of vast bulk; and here, toward the end of what I have to say of the new poetry, I am tormented with an unhandsome misgiving that I have been making too much of it on every side. The names of the great poets who are gone recur to me dismayingly, almost accusingly. What are all the new Presences when confronted with such tremendous Absences as Browning and Emerson, Longfellow and Tennyson, Rossetti and Lowell, Arnold and Whittier, Holmes and Morris, and the great companionless vague which was once Walt Whitman? I am almost afraid to make answer; I can only shrinkingly suggest that To-day may soon be brow-beating To-morrow as Yesterday is now brow-beating To-day.

Again I wish that I could know just how a younger man felt concerning the fact, which is rather a question. I am of the past, too, in my small way, and perhaps I am no fit judge of the present. I would gladly yield the judgment seat (which is never so luxuriously upholstered as people think), but before I left it, I might like to say in defence of the new poetry that if it did not come from poets so great as those gone, it came from poets as true. I might hint at the proposition, with which I have sometimes toyed, that the potentiality of the arts was now almost as widely

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

diffused as the suffrage, and that if their effect was no longer so profound it was farther reaching over the areas reclaimed from the common ignorance. It is possible that in the modern democratization of poetry it is more widely read than ever before, though the great poets, the heroes and princes of song, are not read so much since their apotheosis. Judging from the satisfaction I have known in the poets of my own time, I might think that there never was a time whose poets uttered it so perfectly, so wholly. But what right have I to shake my sere and yellow leaves in doubt of the music which I hear in the air about me now? I do not feel the doubt, and I will not affect it; I wish I could be as sure that I felt the security and did not affect that; but I believe I have been tolerably honest in my praises of the new poetry, and I hope that I have made out not a bad case for it, though I have not assumed to prophesy concerning it. We poor critics can seldom get over our fancy that we decide the fate of poets; sometimes the poets themselves share our delusion; even readers are touched by it. But we really do nothing of the kind. We can say, "Ah, here is something rather nice," or, "*That* won't do," but there is always an appeal to a higher court, and in some very difficult cases the supreme tribunal of time reverses its own decisions.

W. D. Howells.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE EXISTING CONDITIONS AND NEEDS IN CUBA.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, MILITARY GOVERNOR OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

WHAT is needed in Cuba at present is a firm but liberal and just government of the people, for the people and by the people, under American military supervision, for the time being; this supervision to extend only to such time as the civil government shall have become fully established and running smoothly. What is to be avoided, above all things, is militarism, military pedantry, unelastic methods and any continuance of the old Spanish system of multitudinous office holders, filling unnecessary offices and rendering practically no return for the salaries paid them.

It must also be fully realized by those in charge that the Army of the United States is not in Cuba for the purpose of suppressing civil law and civil rights; but, on the contrary, for the purpose of restoring and establishing civil law; that it stands inactive so long as the civil officers are able to execute the laws, and interferes only when they are unable to do so. In other words, even under the military occupation, the military forces should be made, as much as possible, subordinate to the civil law. Of course, the Military Commander always has the power, if he deems it necessary to employ it, to step in and suspend civil law; but circumstances which would warrant such an action must be of a very grave and serious character. Nothing could be more demoralizing to the people than that they should become possessed of the idea that the civil law is simply a convenience, to be dispensed with at the fancy of the Military Commander. The great problem as to the Cuban people, who have lived so long under conditions in which the military authorities have been at liberty to suspend civil law whenever they thought fit to do so, is to teach them that, in a really stable government, the civil power must be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

absolute and supreme, and that the military force acts only in cases of dire necessity, when all other means are unable to deal with the situation. For this reason, in Cuba, it is most desirable to insist that all civil officers in all departments of the government, from the policeman up to the highest official of the law, shall be treated with respect, and every possible dignity and safeguard given to their offices.

A small military force, of perhaps one or two regiments, will be necessary for some little time in the different provinces, simply for their moral effect. There will be occasions in the establishment of the new state of affairs in Cuba, when the presence of a few troops, representing the power of the United States and the power back of the civil government, will be necessary; for there is, and will be for a year or so, a small fraction of the population inclined to brigandage, and impatient of the restraint of their own civil officers. I do not believe that there will ever be an occasion during which they cannot be controlled by the civil officers, but I do believe that the knowledge that behind the Department Commander are a thousand regular troops, ready to assist the civil officers, will prevent many little disorders which otherwise might occur.

The condition of the people in Cuba to-day is one of extreme poverty, and in many provinces great suffering for want of food. The people, contrary to the statements of those who are fond of charging the Cubans with being lazy and unwilling to work, are not only willing but anxious to work. The problem has never been one of finding workers, but of giving work to those who wished it. The present condition of the country is such that there is an enormous amount of work which it is absolutely necessary should be done in the near future, such as the reopening of roads, building of bridges and telegraph lines, rebuilding of little towns and villages that have been destroyed; in short, the restoration of the country, great sections of which have been absolutely destroyed by war. I believe that, throughout Cuba, the policy which has been adopted in Santiago Province of spending the revenues in public improvements and issuing rations only in return for work, will meet with the success which it has met with here. We have been able to open up many of the main roads, put the towns in order, and, in fact, scatter the people over the country in honest labor on public works, in return for which they have received

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

either a daily wage of seventy-five cents or fifty cents and a ration. In some cases they have received three or four rations per day for ten hours' work, with no money, and by this method many laborers have been able to feed their families. Whenever we have heard of great destitution in any section of the Province, officers have been sent there immediately with money and authority to start needed public works, such as those mentioned above. The result has been that, all through the Province, the people have gradually gone to work in one way or another. Of course, they are desperately poor, yet all my officers and couriers, both American and Cuban, report no starvation, and, generally speaking, a quiet, contented condition of the people.

All the larger towns have become self-sustaining, and many of the little ones, from their own local municipal taxes. Those which are not self-sustaining I have assisted, to a limited extent, from the general revenues of the Province, which are derived at present entirely from the customs receipts.

It has been impossible to follow any hard and fast policy, but we have had to meet the different conditions in different parts of the Province as best we could, giving more here and less there, but giving only just enough to make it possible for the people to re-establish themselves upon the most economical basis. Economy has been insisted on, and it has been impressed upon them that, no matter how limited their income may be, they must try to adapt themselves to it; and that, if it was impossible to have what they considered the necessary number of officials at the old salaries, men must be found who would serve for much smaller salaries, or, if necessary, for none at all. Instead of these economies being in any way narrowing, they have had a very beneficial effect on the people, who are beginning to realize that there is a certain satisfaction and independence to be gained by paying their own way, and I believe that out of it will come permanent good results.

After all, it has been a good deal like housekeeping on a gigantic scale, and, as some of our best and ablest men have sprung from the very poorest families, and their development under conditions of the greatest hardships and adversity has tended to foster the very qualities which have made them successful in after life, so will the desperate struggles which these little municipalities are now having tend to make them all the better in the fu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ture. They are learning the hard lessons of rigid economy, and the necessity of the closest attention to every little detail. In many of them men are serving in public positions for no salary, giving their whole time to establishing affairs upon a prosperous basis. School teachers are working for less than their former salaries, as indeed are all the officials of the Province, but they are all working cheerfully, and the spirit which is developing among them promises much for the future.

Disorders are few, and travellers passing through the Province find everywhere open-hearted hospitality and cheerful greetings. The disposition of the people is buoyant and cheerful, and it is very improbable that any extensive police force will be needed, even in the wilder portions of the interior, after the people are once more fairly re-established on their plantations.

When it is remembered that this country has been in a condition of more or less continuous warfare for the past four years, and also that the long and serious wars which have recently taken place were of a most brutal and demoralizing character, it is remarkable to see how little brigandage exists and how quickly the people have returned to peaceful occupations. All that is wanted in Cuba to insure good order is an army of workmen. Give them work, free them from militarism, and, with a moderate but efficient police force, good order will prevail. The disorders of to-day are but the disorders of hungry men without food and without money to buy it. They are willing to work, and every dollar of the revenues of Cuba, outside of the limited amount needed to establish the comparatively simple machinery of such civil government as is needed just at present, should be spent in work of a public character, which will tend to open the country once more to commerce and to restore the towns and cities to a normal condition of cleanliness and sanitation.

The people are anxious to learn, and are keenly appreciative of every effort which has been made to re-establish the schools. I do not know that I have ever seen more enthusiastic youngsters than those in the little Cuban schools. Of course, the present methods are primitive and defective, but all this will change with time; and from the old system, where the teacher lived in the schoolhouse, occupying most of the best rooms, we shall soon come to our own system of well ventilated and well lighted school-houses and intelligent and uniformly progressive methods of teaching.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The agitation which recently took place in Santiago was not based, as was currently reported in the United States, on an effort to retain in Santiago all the revenues of the Province; but it was caused by rumors of an effort to abolish what we all hold most dear, that is, the local, municipal and provincial (or State) autonomy. What the Cuban people desire is that each Province should be developed very much upon the lines of our States, and that the relations of the Province to the General Government should be similar to those of the States of the Union to the Federal Government. Under Spanish rule municipal and provincial autonomy was practically destroyed. The result was a centralization in Havana of everything—finances, judiciary, police, education, in short, of every branch of administration. Now, starting entirely under new conditions and under a liberal government, the Cubans are anxious to avoid a repetition of this, and, while desiring to deny nothing to the General or Federal Government which it could reasonably demand, they do absolutely insist, and justly, upon local control of local affairs, and local men in local offices (other than Federal). This, surely, is reasonable and just, and it will meet with the cordial support and approval of all Americans.

The claim that the Cubans are not capable of governing themselves has, thus far, not been substantiated in this Province; for, in re-establishing the civil government, every appointment has been made on the recommendation of the people themselves, who have been given to understand distinctly that all persons recommended by them for office would be appointed, so long as they acted in good faith in making these recommendations, and recommended none but honest, capable men. Up to the present time I have not had to remove a single official recommended by them. This record will certainly compare favorably with that of any people. We have had the authority to remove immediately all untrustworthy or incompetent officials, and there has been no influence to protect such officials from removal. Of course, we cannot expect a people who have never had a hand in governing themselves, to take hold of the situation with the same grasp and clearness which we should expect from a people accustomed for a long time to self-government. There are many little inconsistencies which creep out among them, but they are the inconsistencies of inexperience, not those of viciousness. Some patience and tact, combined with a good deal of firmness, have been neces-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sary, at times, to tide over troublesome periods, but at no time have we had to resort to actual force. This is, perhaps, all the more creditable to the Cubans, when it is remembered that the country has been full of hungry soldiers, with arms in their hands, unpaid for three years, without clothing, practically without food, and, in some cases, incited by lawless leaders to deeds of violence.

It is not intended in this description of affairs to claim that the Cubans are without faults, or without a great many faults; but it is a fact beyond dispute that they have come out of a chaotic condition, following a most disastrous war, have gone through what has practically been a famine, and have maintained throughout a decent respect for life and property, which would have been most creditable to any people under similar conditions. The difficulty ahead of them lies in their own temperament. They have to learn, in civil affairs, to act with deliberation, to control their emotions, and, while many think that they will be unable to do this, I am confident that they will succeed, knowing, as I do, how well they have conducted themselves during this most trying period of reconstruction.

There is another point which cannot be too strongly impressed upon our own people, and that is the absolute necessity of keeping Americans and all others than the inhabitants of the Island of Cuba out of office in Cuba. We want an absolutely open, honest, clean-handed policy in dealing with the people of this Island. The military governors in the different Provinces, assisted by their officers and such civilians as they may have on their immediate staffs, are absolutely all that are required, except possibly one Collector in each Custom-House, so long as we are directly responsible for the revenues. The appointment of Americans to office here, except as above stated, is regarded by the people as a great injustice; and, if we are here to teach them to govern themselves, it would seem that the best way to begin is by letting them try, standing here ourselves simply to supervise, and, if necessary, check, when we see affairs going wrong.

The question of the customs revenues in Cuba is rather a peculiar one. All the Provinces border, both North and South, on the ocean, and, with the exception of Pinar del Rio and Puerto Principe, each furnishes comparatively large revenues. As the condition of the Island is such that general taxation is for the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

present impossible, except in some favored districts and in the larger cities, the only source of revenue, in a general way, is the customs. While the revenues pertain, strictly speaking, to the General Government, yet in this Island, for the present at least, they will have to be used in different ways, for the general purposes of supporting the courts, re-establishing the schools, maintaining the rural police, opening up highways and general public improvements of all kinds. In short, they must be expended with broad intelligence, and, if so expended, much may be accomplished with them, both in the way of giving employment to large numbers of men and in the restoration of public works. The condition of the country will rapidly improve, and in a comparatively short time the old systems of general taxation, with modifications, can be gradually put in force. At present it would be almost extorting blood-money to attempt to tax directly the wretchedly poor people in the interior of most of the Provinces.

Another great benefit to the Island will result from the commencement of large enterprises, such as the building of railways and the improvement of harbors on a large scale. At present plans are on foot for the completion of a railroad from Santiago to Havana. Such a work as this will give employment to many thousand people, and will do more to restore prosperity and re-establish the ruined towns than almost anything else. The tastes and wants of the people are simple, and the wonderful productiveness of the soil renders it easy to obtain sufficient food, and, with steady labor, means will be furnished to the small farmers to purchase tools and, perhaps, a mule or a horse, and to establish themselves once more upon a comparatively prosperous basis.

The issue of rations to indigents in the Province of Santiago is practically at an end. Since last October the Province has been practically self-sustaining and has paid for all its own officials, schools, lighthouses, courts, etc., besides doing a great deal in the way of road building and other public works. In addition to all of this the Province has been able to accumulate nearly a quarter of a million of dollars for sanitary work in Santiago and its harbor. I believe that this result can be accomplished in every Province in Cuba, with the possible exception of Pinar del Rio and Puerto Principe, and the surplus revenues from the richer Provinces will be sufficient to pay the expenses of these two poorer ones. I believe that the revenues of Cuba, as existing to-day, will

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suffice for the present Cuban situation, even to the furnishing of food to its indigent people, and, if the *personnel* of the civil government is reduced to the lowest point consistent with efficiency, and salaries brought down where they ought to be under the circumstances, the surplus money will be sufficient to pay thousands upon thousands of laborers throughout the Island and to accomplish the necessary public works. I have absolutely no doubt that this is not only possible, but easy to accomplish. I do not believe that any other than a small military force will be necessary in the various Provinces, and this for a comparatively short time only.

Order in the interior of the Provinces should be maintained by the rural mounted police. A force of two hundred and fifty of these men has been found ample in the Province of Santiago de Cuba. Both men and officers have been carefully selected from the best material in the Cuban Army. From the date of their organization up to the present time they have faithfully and efficiently performed their duty and effectually suppressed several small gangs of highwaymen, who were lurking in the rougher and more unsettled parts of the interior. A similar force will certainly be sufficient in other Provinces where the country is, as a rule, much more open and more thickly settled, as well as better developed. The Cubans are perfectly willing to accept the acts of their own civil officers, which, if performed by soldiers of the United States, would give rise to a great deal of bad feeling and friction. It has been the established policy in this Province to avoid using our troops for any kind of general police work, excepting guard duty on some of the large sugar estates.

The courts of the Province, as at present organized, are prompt and efficient in the performance of their duty and are maintained at a cost to the Province of not over fifty per cent. of their cost under the Spanish Administration. The Judges are impressed with the responsibilities of their position and are doing excellent work. Various modifications of the old methods of procedure have been recommended and will undoubtedly meet with the general approval of the bar and the people, and eventually be put in force.

Taking all things into consideration, I believe that the re-establishment of the civil government in Cuba will be easy of accomplishment and that, when re-established, it will render good and efficient service. Of course, there will be many obstacles to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

overcome and many grave questions to be considered, which will undoubtedly give rise to very serious discussions and differences. In order that no serious disturbances may arise, I believe it to be very desirable that a complete organization of the civil government should be effected as quickly as possible, and that the readjustment and modifications spoken of above should be accomplished during the military occupation, in order that, when the forces of the United States are withdrawn from the Island, a definite form of government may have been fully determined upon and may be in actual operation.

When I say that the civil government should be established as soon as possible, I do not wish to be understood as recommending its immediate establishment in all its branches, but rather its gradual establishment, commencing at the bottom and ending at the top. We must secure good municipal government, good schools, good courts, with many modifications in the present methods of procedure, especially in criminal cases. We must also establish good sanitary regulations, and be sure that the people appreciate all these things, before we give up the control of affairs and establish all the details of the civil government upon an absolutely independent basis.

LEONARD WOOD.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COURTS MARTIAL IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR FRANCIS H. JEUNE, K. C. B., JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL OF THE BRITISH ARMY, PRESIDENT OF THE PROBATE DIVISION OF THE HIGH COURT, ETC.

MR. EARL M. CRANSTON, the author of an article on the "Existing Court Martial System" in the February number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, who is evidently well acquainted with the constitution and practice of Courts Martial under the law of the United States, has indicated, in his clear and well reasoned paper, several points on which he believes fundamental reforms to be required. The subject is one of interest at all times, in countries whose citizens place a high value on the rules of justice being applied impartially to all classes, and certainly not the least to the class to which both America and England know themselves to be deeply indebted. Possibly, that interest is at this moment quickened on both sides of the Atlantic by the demonstration afforded by the example of France, how dangerous it is to allow what should be a judicial institution to be influenced by a bias of party, racial, or it may be even patriotic, sentiment. But in America, where it is now certain that in the immediate future the army will form a part of national life of great and growing importance, it is essential that the jurisdiction of Courts Martial should receive the most careful consideration; while in England we are, I hope, always ready to welcome suggestions for the improvement of an institution on the efficiency of which we are conscious much must always depend. Mr. Cranston's article, therefore, demands attention both in his country and in mine.

It is not, I think, unfair to say that Mr. Cranston throughout his paper regards Courts Martial with apprehension, if not with suspicion. He never altogether disassociates himself from his

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opening words: "There is an old saying, 'Courts Martial are organized to convict.'" During a period of now nearly seven years I have had, in my official capacity of Judge Advocate General, the duty of reading many, and of hearing of many more, proceedings of Courts Martial, and the conclusion at which, without hesitation, I arrive is that Courts Martial in England are almost invariably conducted not only with substantial justice, but also with respectful adherence to the principles and forms of law. The members of the Courts Martial are educated officers and gentlemen. I should not, therefore, have expected to find, and I certainly never have found, any want of intelligent perception or any presence of prejudice, or of that professional prepossession which Mr. Cranston thinks inevitable. I can make only two criticisms on the action of Courts Martial, as I have observed it. It sometimes happens that a legal principle correctly remembered is carried beyond its proper limitations. The rule, for example, that opinions are not evidence, except in the case of experts, has sometimes been held by Courts Martial to exclude evidence of drunkenness, or even evidence of hand-writing. There is, perhaps, also a tendency to convict a prisoner on scanty evidence, if the offence has become rife. I remember an instance in which, after several cases of stealing from the regimental canteen had occurred, a private was found guilty of stealing tea from the canteen, the only evidence in his case being that he had a bag of tea in his possession. I have no doubt, and, indeed, an explanatory note to that effect was appended to the finding, that the natural and proper desire that an example should be made was allowed to compensate for a deficiency of proof. But I have known a similar tendency, not only at Quarter Sessions, but in a much higher stratum of legal atmosphere. I remember a distinguished Queen's Counsel, in the Court of Chancery, adjuring the tribunal: "In these times, when commercial fraud has become rampant, is the arm of this Court to be shortened because of a mere want of strict proof?"

Mr. Cranston feels a strong objection to the members of a Court Martial being judges both of law and of fact, and he bases on that opinion a recommendation that, whenever possible, a legal member should be added to the tribunal. I confess I do not share this objection, and I altogether deprecate the remedy. The questions that come before Courts Martial very seldom present any such complexity of law and fact as to call for that process of unravel-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing which, no doubt, in civil cases, often tries the powers even of an experienced judge and a well-instructed jury. But the tribunal of a Court Martial is by no means to be considered as a jury. It consists in every case of officers, all of whom have had a substantial training in the law of Courts Martial, and probably the majority of whom have had that best teaching of law, the teaching of having witnessed, and even taken part in, previous cases. A man who has served on several Courts Martial, acting under the sense of responsibility which every member of a Court Martial must feel, is by no means ill qualified to deal with any legal or semi-legal question that is likely to arise. To my mind, it is infinitely important to increase this experience, and to quicken this sense of responsibility ; and for that reason it is that I should be sorry to see a professional lawyer added to the tribunal. It would be inevitable that the officers would leave the law, and perhaps also the facts, practically to him, trusting to his superior training in law, and thus the value of the tribunal would be incalculably impaired.

Mr. Cranston has very properly pointed out that the presence of a Judge Advocate, to some extent, meets his objection of the want of legal training in the military members of the Court ; but he adds that there is a risk of the Judge Advocate's ceasing to be sufficiently impartial if he also acts as prosecutor. In this last opinion I certainly concur, and I venture to hope that those responsible for the law of American Courts Martial will not hesitate to profit by our experience, because with us there is a Prosecutor, generally the Adjutant of the regiment, independent of the Judge Advocate. The Judge Advocate acts very much as the Attorney-General acts in peerage cases in the House of Lords. He states his view of legal points, and if necessary he sums up the case, pointing out the issues and the evidence relating to them, but he leaves it to the tribunal to decide. I do not think that either the Attorney-General in such cases, or the Judge Advocate at Courts Martial, is under any temptation, or, in fact, ever indicates any wish, to strain the law or the facts in favor of either side. He treats himself as being there to see justice done; a finding of "guilty" carries with it no triumph, and a finding of "not guilty" no disappointment, unless either be clearly the failure of a misguided or uninformed tribunal.

It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that in this country, and I should venture to hope in America also, an officer

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

called upon to sit in judgment on a fellow soldier, brings to his task complete ignorance of the guiding principles of law and procedure. In the British Army a by no means contemptible knowledge of military law is required of every officer, and certainly a British officer has no excuse for ignorance, because the opportunity of acquiring knowledge is afforded to him by simple and easy means. The official publication known as the "Manual of Military Law" is a work on which great care has been expended by very competent writers, with the result that all that is essential to be known on the subject is embodied in a singularly concise and intelligent form. The field, indeed, which it is necessary to cover in such a text book is not small, because, besides embodying the law of evidence, a knowledge of which is indispensable to any one called on to administer judicial functions, and the special regulations contained in the Army, Reserve Force and Militia Acts, with the Queen's Regulations and the Rules of Procedure, which are applicable to Courts Martial, it has been found necessary to summarize the whole law of crime, as there is no offence known to the law which it may not be the duty of a Court Martial to try. Accordingly, chapters on these subjects have been compiled by such well-qualified authors as Lord Thring, Sir Henry Jenkyns and Sir Courtenay Ilbert; and I will only say of their work that there is no lawyer who might not read it with satisfaction and advantage. I do not know whether a similar treatise has yet been published in the United States under official authority. If not, I venture to think that that is an omission which should be, and certainly can be, speedily remedied. America has been the home of great text writers, and I have no doubt that the torch of their ability and industry has been handed on to successors not less capable than they of producing models of systematic and well-reasoned exposition.

The confidence which I place in the substantial justice of Courts Martial leads me to deprecate the transfer from that tribunal to the civil courts of the country, of many of the offences of the soldier against the ordinary law. The rule laid down in this country requires that the more serious offences against the law should always, if committed in the United Kingdom, and whenever practicable, if committed elsewhere in the Queen's Dominions, be tried by a civil court; and the tendency undoubtedly is to send offenders to the civil courts, unless there be some strong military reason for not doing so. It is so important that it should not,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for a moment, be supposed that a soldier enjoys any *privilegium* in regard to offences against the law, or is subjected to any severer system of judication than that to which any other citizen is subject, that perhaps it is well to leave the soldier in most cases to be dealt with by the ordinary law, if he be charged with offences not partaking of a military character. But, if arraigned before a Court Martial, he is tried by a tribunal well acquainted with his habits and disposition, not probably over lenient, though able to understand his defence and appreciate his excuses, and above all well qualified to determine the weight of the necessary sentence. This, and the experience to be gained by officers in sitting on Courts Martial, are advantages not to be disregarded whenever the question has to be considered of the tribunal before which a soldier ought to be tried. I can only say that I should have no fear of Courts Martial displaying all the firmness, intelligence and impartiality necessary for the investigation of serious crimes. There comes to my recollection a case of a very sad murder of a comrade by a British soldier, forming part of the Army of Occupation in Egypt. He was tried by a Court Martial, the trial giving rise to serious questions both of motive and sanity; and he could not have received trial before a fairer or more competent authority.

If I read Mr. Cranston's article aright, there is no function in the American system of Courts Martial corresponding to that which, in the British Army, I have the honor at the present moment to exercise as Judge Advocate General. Like many other things in this country, this office is a survival which fulfills a most useful purpose, though its original object has disappeared. It was designed as a safeguard against absolutism of the Crown over a standing army, and was intended to prevent a system of military law being enforced at the expense of the law of the land. It has survived to constitute a useful and practical protection of the British soldier against errors into which the comparative inexperience of the members of Courts Martial may possibly lead them. It is an established part of the military law of Great Britain that the proceedings of every Court Martial should be recorded in writing, and brought under the review of the Judge Advocate General or his deputies. About six thousand Court Martial proceedings are thus annually reviewed, and every doubtful case comes under the consideration of the Judge Advocate General personally, who has the assistance of two deputies, one of legal and one of military

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

experience. I hope and believe that few, if any, errors in law or procedure escape notice ; and thus this department, if efficiently conducted, supplies a safeguard, fulfilling some of the more important objects to which the aspirations after a Court of Criminal Appeal have been so long and so vainly directed. It is by an accident that the office of Judge Advocate General has come to be filled by a member of the judicial body. It was till recently always held by a member of the House of Commons, entering and leaving office with the ministry of the day, and it was said that the name of the office was singularly inappropriate, as it was filled by a person who was not a judge, an advocate or a general. When difficulty arose in 1892 in filling the office in Mr. Gladstone's ministry, Mr. Gladstone did me the honor to ask me to accept the office, as it had been previously held for a short time by a predecessor of mine in the Probate Division of the High Court, the late Sir Robert Phillimore. Since then I have formed the humblest, but the only immutable, element in the ministries of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Rosebery and Lord Salisbury. I do not know for how long or how short a time it may be that the office of Judge Advocate General is to be filled by an official who at least fulfills one-third of the appellation; but so long as it is held by a judge, it will, of course, be administered in a judicial temper and according to judicial principles, with, it is to be hoped, the result that the execution of the law and nothing but the law may be relied on. And that result will not be unsatisfactory if it can be felt with confidence by every British soldier, down to the humblest, that, if he has the misfortune to be tried, his trial will be conducted with as strict an observance of the law as if he pleaded at Bar before the Chief Justice of England and two of his brethren.

A long established custom has given a still further security in the case of all general Courts Martial, that is those which deal with the more serious offences, and are empowered to inflict the more severe sentences. It is the duty of the Judge Advocate General to present the proceedings of all such Courts Martial to the Sovereign in person, either at an audience or in writing, and to advise the Crown whether the sentence should be carried out. This is a safeguard which is far more than nominal. In ordinary cases it probably happens that the attention which has been previously given to the case renders needless any special explanation or remark. But in any proceeding which for any reason is out of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

common, it constitutes a valuable as well as an unique protection, that the experience of the Sovereign, which is in nothing more remarkable than in matters connected with the army, should be brought to bear upon any new departure, or any question of doubt; and I should suppose that any Judge Advocate General must feel his own judgment strengthened, as well as his responsibility quickened, by the personal attention invariably bestowed by the Sovereign upon every important decision.

F. H. JEUNE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CURSE IN EDUCATION.

BY REBECCA HARDING DAVIS.

OCCASIONALLY, would it not be a wise thing for a growing nation, like a growing boy, to look to its health: to test the rules by which it lives, and find out whether they are making it sturdy, or sickly and anæmic? Just now, when we propose to take millions of half-savage aliens under our roof-tree, is it not a fit time to examine the maxims which govern the household, and which we must soon thrust upon them?

The most urgent of these rules—the one in which the American puts absolute faith—is, "Educate; send every boy and girl to school."

It never occurs to the American that there can be a mistake or room for hesitancy there. He may have his doubts as to the efficacy of religion. Indeed, the recognition of a God can hardly now be said to be one of the rules by which this household of the United States is governed. Your average busy citizen may grant that there is Some One, somewhere in the spheres, possessing an uncertain, vague power. He will even go so far as to send his wife and daughters to church, to keep on terms with Him. But he protests against any definite acknowledgment of Him by the body politic; he does not see—as his grandfather saw—God behind the changes of the weather or the doings of nations; he would resent the idea that He was likely to meddle in the serious businesses of the world, such as the Stock Exchange, caucuses or peace commissions.

He may never put it into words, but his belief is that the great American nation is now quite too strong to need any fathering by an invisible power. As his trust in God has lessened, his faith in man has increased. Educate a man, he says, teach him mathematics, chemistry, or what not, and he can take care of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

himself in the universe. It is this unspoken creed that has made the schoolhouse a fetish in the United States. Whether it stands in a village in New England, or in a Florida swamp or in an Indian reservation, we all believe that a life-giving ichor goes out of it which will conquer not only ignorance, but poverty and crime.

This idea came naturally enough to Uncle Sam, when he found his gates besieged by hordes of ignorant Irish, Germans, Russians, Huns and Italians, and within his gates other hordes of ignorant negroes and Indians. Their ignorance seemed to him the deadly disease which would destroy the nation. Cure that, by a certain amount of book learning, and the American would be the typical intelligent and moral citizen—a model for the world.

Hence the public school.

Has the public school done its work? Has education been always an unmixed blessing to America and Americans?

This question cannot be answered so easily and positively as loyal sons of the Republic may suppose.

Two or three facts which come up in my memory seem to me to have a bearing on it.

First: On the table before me lies the annual report for 1898 of the Inspectors of the Eastern Penitentiary in Pennsylvania. Here is one item: Ninety-one convicts who were in the prison last year had served one or more terms in it before. Of these hardened offenders, only nine were unable to read and write. Of eight, no record had been kept; but, as the majority of them were forgers and counterfeiters, they evidently had received some mental training. The remaining seventy-four were all educated, having attended school for from two to nine years.

Another fact: Three years after the opening of free schools in London, a marked increase was noticed in the number of juvenile offenders in the city prisons and reformatories. There was, too, a change in the kind of crimes committed by them. The number of boys and young men convicted of forgery, grand larceny and intricate swindling schemes, was more than doubled, while the number of sneak thieves, drunkards and pickpockets was lessened by one-half. As years passed, the proportion of educated criminals largely increased.

"Are we to understand, then," demanded a zealous humani-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tarian in Parliament, "that our graded schools are breeding-houses of crime?"

But this was too pessimistic a view. Education did not breed crime in the pupils; education only gave crime tools to use. The three R's never begot a desire in the mind of a boy to work harm to his fellows; but, finding the desire there already, they taught him to forge a note instead of picking a pocket. Without education, he tramped barefoot in the mire of the broad road that leads downward; with it, he drove in a chariot, but on the self same road and to the same dark end.

Again: About fifteen years ago, I was in a lonely corner of Louisiana—a district of pale green prairies sloping down to the gulf, dotted with the half-cultivated farms of the French Acadians. These they had been since they left Acadie years before. An isolated, separate clan, they had retained the character, the handicrafts and the bits of homely, useful knowledge which they brought with them, and also the same utter ignorance of the outer world. Very few of them could read or write. The men tilled the fields on the shores of the black bayoux which crept lazily through banks of purple and yellow *fleurs-de-lis*, and the women in their cabins wove the soft, gay cotton stuffs in which they all were clad. They had no railways, no school-houses, no bosses with schemes for making big fortunes, no politics and no newspapers. For years, there had not been a case from among them in the parish court of theft or adultery or murder. They worked enough to keep them from want; they went to mass in the morning, and to a dance at night. They were faithful husbands, loyal friends, tender mothers; a single-minded, honest, merry folk. What more would you have?

When I went away from this Attakapas country, and looked back at the great, dull green plain rolling down to the sea, with its pleasant farms and snug little homesteads gay with flowers, soft floating gray mists now and then clouding the sunshine, it seemed the very land of peace. Surely its name should be Arcadia, not Acadie.

A year later, I heard a philanthropic Northern lecturer descant on the ignorance of this people, and beg for aid to "send the schoolmaster among them, to open the way for railways, business and civilization."

Would not any intelligent American question seriously

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whether these people would be elevated or lowered in the actual scale of being by these things?

Take another community—one in a remote corner of New England. Fifty years ago, X—— was a live, prosperous village. The heads of the families were whalers—captains, mates and crews. They could read and write, they were keen-witted, quick-eyed, red-blooded men, who gathered on their long voyages precisely the kind of knowledge which they needed for their calling, and brought home, too, histories and news of far-off countries beyond the seas. Sometimes, indeed, they took their women folk with them on their voyages, and thus, continually, windows were opened through which glimpses of the great outside world came into the lonely hamlet. The life in it was full of hard work, but not without its fun; it was active, healthy and human.

But the whaling industry is dead in X—— now, and so are the old seamen who followed it. The generations that succeeded them have not found any industry to take its place. The swamps remain undrained, the fields untilled, the fish disport themselves by millions in the bay undisturbed. The old people in the village keep themselves and their children alive by renting their houses to summer boarders. But the children have but one ambition—to be educated; their feeble energy finds its only outlet in an academy and college course. Nothing could be more laudable, according to ordinary public opinion. Visitors look with awe at the three huge school houses and the free library, which tower over the village houses, until they discover that there is not a cobbler nor a tailor nor a druggist nor a skilled mechanic in the village. Then they begin to wonder whether book learning is the only wholesome and needful thing in the life of a community.

The young girls of X—— go through "the course," nibbling at a dozen sciences, and philosophies and two or three languages, long enough to learn the flavor of each, but not long enough to find any actual food for their brains; not long enough even to teach them the first lesson of education—how little they know. They find no place as teachers, for New England is filled with women competent to teach, standing in rows waiting for a vacancy. These X—— "young ladies"—for they are careful to give themselves that degree—settle down at home. They will not cook nor wash, as their mothers do; they are no longer of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the class of tradespeople; they are unfitted to marry the honest laborers on the farms; they mope and look at the world in false lights through their tears, and join the great army of half-starved, hysteric, morbid women in New England—the most useless figures, perhaps, in the world's swarming myriads.

The majority of the young men return and wait in vain for work in which their book learning will prove effective. They have no capital to go into business; the professions are enormously overcrowded; they look down with contempt on the trades or any manual labor, in which was their chance for useful, earnest lives. One or two men of unusual power have gone to the West and succeeded, the others in the end, driven by dire need, usually take up some occupation which gives them food. They have just enough education to make them loathe and despise the work on which they must depend for their livelihood.

A still more tragic instance is the negro, who, as soon as he was freed, was taken out of the cabin of the slave field-hand, not to be taught to read his Bible, and earn his bread as a skilled mechanic, but to study the higher mathematics and Plato, French and German, medicine and law; and then, with contempt and insult, was denied the chance to use his knowledge.

What, then, is wrong? Too much education?

No! No sane man can doubt that to educate a human being, so as to develop his individual capacity and to fit him for his especial place in life, is the best thing we can do for him. It is a gift to him from his fellow men, second only to that of life. But it must be given with wisdom and discrimination.

Now what wisdom, what discrimination, do we show when we educate our boys and girls? When we set out flowers in a garden, we give to each the position and the food and the water suited to its peculiar needs. The research of many generations has made us wise in the queer idiosyncrasies of lilies and roses and tulips, and taught us how to bring out the full strength of every root or graft. But we cultivate human souls *en masse.*

Into that aforesaid school house, of which we boast with such fervor, are going to-day countless legions of little Pats and Jans and Sambos—boys with a myriad differing capacities, tendencies and destinies. And each is crammed with the same dose of unassimilated facts—the alphabets of a dozen sciences, which he never learns to put together into an intelligible word. Noth-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing more cruel and ridiculous was ever done in the world. It is the old story of the boys of Dotheboys Hall, who were ranged into a row while Mrs. Squeers ladled into each gaping mouth the same dose of treacle and sulphur.

One of the foremost teachers in the country, the head of a great preparatory school, once said to me: "True education is to find the quality and bent of each pupil's mind, and give it only such food as will develop them." I glanced at the pile of textbooks—huge accumulations of bare questions and answers—lying on his desk. "What can I do?" he said, with a despairing shrug. "My boys must 'pass' in all of these books to enter college, and in college the aim still is to 'pass,' not to grow."

Of course, we all know the secret reason which prompts this American system of education. Every child must be prepared for any possible position. The boy who will end his days behind the counter of a village store, and who has no ambition nor qualification to do other work, must have his smattering of Greek and philosophy, because he may some day be Senator or President. The girl from X——, who would be fitted for a full, happy life by a course in dressmaking or cookery and arithmetic, studies trigonometry and art. May she not, some day, be the first lady of the land? Dull, good young women by the tens of thousands, meant by nature to brood over homes and to mother children, and to teach them truth and honor and the love of God, grapple with the Semitic tongues or biology, with the hope that they will be club women or scholars, and train their sons for college.

It is, as we all know, the Chance for every man that constitutes the true greatness of America. But it is this Chance also which is at the bottom of our discontent, of our vulgar pretension, of our intolerable rudeness, and of the false values which we are apt to place upon the things of life. Perhaps the falsest value is that which we set on mere book learning. Without religion, it only qualifies the thief to be more expert in his thieving. If it is not assimilated into a man's life, and made a part of his everyday work, it becomes a deadly alien weight on both.

When will Americans see that there is no blessing like the education which we can use; but that the education which we cannot use is a curse?

REBECCA HARDING DAVIS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORK OF THE JOINT HIGH COMMISSION.

BY A CANADIAN LIBERAL.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the labors of the Anglo-American Joint High Commission have been fruitless. While a final result of negotiations has not been reached, and upon one point disagreement has resulted, there is still good prospect of an ultimate settlement that will be satisfactory to moderate and reasonable men of both countries. The Commission was called upon to deal with a wide range of subjects, many of them of prime importance. These subjects were, the question of Trade Relations between Canada and the United States, Pelagic Sealing, the Alaskan Boundary, Reciprocal Mining Rights, the Alien Labor Law, the Southern and Eastern Boundary, the Northeastern Fisheries, the Inland Fisheries, the Bonding Privilege, Rights of Transit, the Transmission of Prisoners, the Construction of War Vessels upon the Lakes; and other questions of difference between the two countries. Public impatience is manifested, especially in Canada, because the solution of all these questions has not been reached. The truth probably is that tentative agreements have been arrived at upon all of them, with the exception of the Trade question and the Northeastern Fishery question; these provisional agreements being dependent for final adoption upon the settlement of the entire range of questions referred to the Commission.

The work of the Commission is of an importance that can scarcely be over-rated, not only with reference to the character of the questions themselves, but also with reference to the higher and more important question of future relations between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family.

It is a fact, perhaps not hitherto understood in the United States, that the Canadian tariff regulations, as relating to the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United States, are much more liberal than the tariff regulations of the United States as relating to Canada. The total imports of Canada from the United States, for the year 1898, amounted to $86,587,000, of which amount $78,263,000 was entered for consumption; while the exports of Canada to the United States during the same year, the produce of Canada, and not including the mythical estimate of $4,300,000 for short returns, was $35,460,000, a sum corresponding very closely with the American Statistics of importations from Canada for 1898. Of the total imports from the United States for consumption, $37,674,000 were dutiable, while the free imports for consumption were $40,589,000. The rate of duty on total imports from the United States was 12.05 per cent. The rate of duty on dutiable imports was 25.4. The United States' duty on total imports for the same year was 24.78, and upon dutiable imports 49.20.

Of the total import of free goods into Canada, 72½ per cent. came from the United States, 17.7 per cent. from Great Britain, and 9.8 per cent. from all other countries. Of Canada's total imports for consumption, 66 per cent. were from the United States and but 28.11 of Canada's exports went to the United States. In the year there was a balance of trade against Canada and in favor of the United States of over forty million dollars, while the United States gave to Canada, in return for a free list of over $40,000,000 of American goods, a free list of but $14,000,000, consisting chiefly of saw logs, pulp wood, gold-bearing quartz, settlers' effects, and goods exported and then returned.

Of farm products, the United States took from Canada in 1898, $5,326,000, while Canada exported to other countries, chiefly to Great Britain, $77,516,000; so that the United States took from Canada but 6½ per cent. of her total export of farm products in that year. While the United States bought of Canada but 5,326,000 dollars' worth of farm products, Canada bought from the United States during the same year $15,000,000 worth, including raw cotton and tobacco leaf; and in the following articles Canada, in her purchases from the United States, exceeded her exports to that country, namely: horses, butter, eggs, lard, hides, bacon, hams, salted pork, beef in barrels, Indian corn, wheat flour, Indian meal, oatmeal, hay, seeds, fruits, and berries.

Canada imported from the United States in 1898 $35,000,000 worth of domestic manufactures, or $6,000,000 more than the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

amount of manufactures imported from Great Britain. Of the import of manufactures from the United States, probably $20,000,000 was consumed by the agricultural population of the country, which was prevented, by the nearly prohibitory tariff of the United States, from selling to that country more than $5,326,000 worth of farm products in return.

As relates to the operation of differential duties in favor of Great Britain, for the year 1898, which amounted to 12½ per cent., the percentage of increase of British imports for consumption from 1897 to 1898 was 10.15 per cent., while the increase of imports for consumption from the United States during the same period was 35.68 per cent. Again, while the average rate of duties upon English goods entered for consumption under the preferential rate was 29.60 per cent., the average rate of duties upon American goods entered for consumption was 25.40 per cent.

The imports into Canada from all countries for 1898 amounted to $23.75 *per capita*, while the imports into Canada from the United States amounted to $14.25 *per capita*. In the face of this exhibit, the repressive influence of the American tariff upon foreign trade is evinced by the fact that the total importations of the United States for 1898 amounted to $7.83 *per capita*, while the importations of the United States from Canada amounted to less than 70 cents *per capita*.

The total exports of the United States for 1898 to South America, Mexico, Central America and the West Indies, with an aggregate population of over 54,000,000, amounted to $86,786,000, while the total exports of the United States to Canada, with a population of 5,500,000, amounted to $86,537,000, for the same year.

These facts are strikingly illustrative of the repressive tariff policy of the United States, and point to the propriety, on the part of Canada, of asking for trade concessions and more favorable trade relations from the United States.

All of the Canadian members of the Commission are recognized as entertaining friendly feelings towards the United States, and a sincere desire to promote more intimate trade and business relations between the two countries. These gentlemen, beyond question, approached the discussion of the trade relations between the two countries with a sincere desire to promote more friendly relations, and to secure the concessions which in their belief Canada

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was fairly entitled to, as an equivalent for the results of her policy towards the United States. It is reasonably certain that the advances in the direction intimated were not met, on the part of the American Commissioners, with that degree of alacrity and willingness to concede reasonable requests that might have been hoped for. This was due, probably, to the preponderance of public sentiment in the United States against such concessions, and to a feeling in the United States Senate, hostile to the ratification of broad concessions in the realm of trade relations.

The Canadian Commissioners were, of course, anxious to secure the removal of duties upon several classes of farm products for which the Canadian farmer might find a remunerative market in the United States; and the fact that the vast mineral region of British Columbia will speedily furnish an extensive market for American farm products, and that the Canadian farmer, being the consumer of vast quantities of American manufactures, is entitled in return to sell, in the American markets of the East, a fair proportion of the products of his own labors, would naturally be strongly urged. But it is reasonably certain that applications for concessions in this line did not meet with a flattering degree of success, and that the American Commissioners absolutely refused to open the markets of the United States to the competition of Canadian farmers, except, possibly, in a few comparatively unimportant products.

The dependence of the Canadian farmer upon the American market has, of late years, very greatly diminished. Last year the total exports of Canada to Great Britain were $104,787,000, while the total imports from that country were $32,827,000, leaving a balance of trade in favor of Canada of $71,960,000. Of the $77,516,000 worth of farm products which Canada exported to countries other than the United States, England probably received over 95 per cent., and by means of cold storage and improved methods of production and transportation of cheese, butter, bacon, hams, vegetables, poultry, fruits, eggs, and other products, the Canadian farmer begins to feel a sense of independence of American markets. Indeed, it may be seriously questioned whether the denial to him, on the part of the United States, of free access to that market, is not a policy likely to react upon the commercial interest of the United States itself.

With the clouded prospect of securing concessions on the agri-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cultural list, it is fair to presume that the Canadian Commissioners pressed with vigor for the removal of restrictions in other directions, and especially in the matter of duties upon fish and upon lumber. The importation of lumber from Canada to the United States is trivial in amount, compared with the production of lumber in that country. Since 1890, the export of lumber from Canada to the United States has averaged only about one and one-half per cent. of the total volume of lumber produced in the last named country. This makes it clearly evident that the removal of the lumber duties would produce but a slight effect upon lumber prices in the United States, and that the most serious consequence would be the loss of revenue upon Canadian lumber importations. It is more than probable that a proper presentation of the facts bearing upon this case would conclusively prove to the American Commissioners, that free lumber might be granted without serious consequences to the lumber interests of the United States. This, however, would be but one step in the direction of securing for Canada this concession, and the more serious obstacle to overcome would be the prejudices of those interested in the production of lumber in some twenty-five of the American States, represented by fifty votes in the United States Senate, where it requires but thirty-one votes to defeat a treaty.

There was at no time, probably, sufficient reason for believing that Canada's desire for free fish would be gratified; and yet a settlement of the vexed Northeast Fishery question, by the free admission of Canadian fish into American markets, and the total sweeping away of all Canadian restrictions imposed by virtue of the Convention of 1818, would have been the most desirable adjustment of a long standing difficulty.

It is pretty certain that the free importation of fresh fish from the Maritime Provinces is already largely secured by clandestine arrangements, fresh fish being transferred from Canadian vessels at sea to fishing vessels from the United States, which go out with scanty provisions and speedily return with phenomenal catches.

With the Fishery and the Trade questions definitely settled, the relations between the two countries should immediately assume a more friendly form, as the main causes of friction and bad feeling would be removed. These two questions, it is safe to guess, will be settled. The prediction is hazarded that the next meeting of the Commission will result in the framing of a treaty,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which in many respects will be satisfactory to the people of Canada, and which in all respects will be infinitely preferable to a continuance of the present condition of affairs.

The disagreement upon the Alaskan Boundary question appears to be of a character to do no discredit to the British members of the Commission. The possession by the United States of a narrow strip of coast, from latitude 56 Northward, between the Canadian Northwest possessions and the Pacific, is, of course, a subject of deep regret and no little annoyance to the Canadian people, whose vast tracts of auriferous territory, in the Yukon District, is a Hinterland shut out from access to the sea by this intervening strip of coast, ten leagues in width. The delimitation of this boundary was, from the nature of the case, a difficult one. The coast line has deep indentations, such as Lynn Canal, sixty miles in length. From the head of this canal, access is had to the upper waters of the Yukon and to the Klondike, and other mineral regions. The Canadian Commissioners contended that, as the canal was less than six miles wide at its mouth, it was territorial waters, and not a part of the high sea, that the coast line should cross at its mouth, and the boundary line be ten leagues from the mouth of the bay or canal. The American contention was that the coast line followed this indentation, and that the boundary line should be at the crest of the mountain, or ten leagues from the waters of the bay or canal. An arrangement is understood to have been agreed upon, by which Canada was to be granted one port at the head of this canal, with access from that port to the interior, the United States government reserving sovereignty; but this was protested against by the citizens of Tacoma, Seattle, and other American towns upon the Pacific coast, and the arrangement was consequently withdrawn. No course then remained but to submit the question to Arbitration, and the American Commissioners are said to have proposed that the Board of Arbitration should consist of three eminent jurists from each country. The Canadians objected that this would not secure finality, and that it was necessary to have an umpire chosen from a neutral State. The Americans, it is said, were willing to select an umpire from one of the Spanish-American States. The Canadian Commissioners objected, because these States were practically under American protectorate, by virtue of the Monroe Doctrine. The Americans were unwilling to accept an umpire from

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Europe, and so no course was left to the Commissioners but to refer the case to their respective governments.

The Canadian members of the Commission have been subjected to severe and unreasonable criticism in Canada, because the negotiations, extending over a period of six months, have not resulted in a treaty. The manufacturing interests of Canada are evidently very nervous, lest concessions shall be made admitting free of duty lines of manufactured goods from the United States in which they will be unable to compete with American rivals.

It must be admitted, and it is admitted with regret, that a state of public sentiment exists in Canada towards the United States, which is not in sympathy with the friendly and generous impulses of the British people towards their American cousins, or of American people towards the inhabitants of Great Britain. In parts of Canada, chiefly in commercial centers, and especially in Toronto, a spirit of jingoism exists, which has developed into a mild form of political insanity. It is by no means an uncommon thing to hear gentlemen of position, in business and political circles, express not only gratification that the Commission has adjourned without a treaty being made, but also an ardent hope that it will never meet again. The fact that the American tariff regulations are the reverse of liberal towards Canada, and that the trade between the two countries is specially advantageous to the United States, may be and probably is largely the cause of this state of feeling, but the condition of affairs is, nevertheless, in the highest degree regrettable and unjustifiable. As a practical outcome of the prevalence of this sentiment, the British Columbia Legislature has recently debarred American miners from the right to engage in placer mining, in that province, although the matter of reciprocal mining rights is under the consideration of the Commission, and a piece of legislation has gone upon the Statute Book of the Province of Ontario (61 Vic., chap. 9), which will ever remain a blot upon its legislative history, and is the most unjustifiable legislative enactment probably, that has been placed upon the Statute Book of any American State, Saxon or Spanish, in the last generation. This is a law, passed in the session of 1897, which practically confiscates the property of a number of American lumbermen, having timber holdings in Ontario, to the extent of some three million acres. These lumbermen, having exhausted the available supply of pine in the State of Michigan,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and having on their hands idle mills and salt blocks, made investments in timber lands on the north shore of Lake Huron for the purpose of transporting in rafts logs cut upon these lands to their Michigan mills. These investments were made upon the invitation of the Ontario Government, which controls and owns the public lands and Crown timber limits. The prices paid for these timber properties, sold at auction by the Government, or purchased from parties who had previously obtained them from the Government, were very large, ranging from two to three times as much per thousand feet, board measure, or per square mile in area, as timber properties sold for in other portions of the Province. These Americans were permitted to proceed without interruption with their business of exporting logs for a period of years.

When the Dingley Bill was under consideration in 1897, it was probably suspected that, in the event of lumber being made dutiable again, the Canadian Government would impose an export duty upon the exportation of logs. This suspicion was evidently well founded. American investments in timber lands had been made in good faith, for the purpose of exporting logs, and had been made at a time when no export duty or other restriction was in force. It was evidently thought proper by the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, and the Finance Committee of the Senate, to protect the interests of these American lumbermen, by guarding against the imposition of an export duty; and a proviso was inserted in the Dingley Bill which enacted that, if any foreign country imposed an export duty upon saw logs designed for export to the United States, the amount of such export duty should be automatically added to the import duty upon lumber sent from such country to the United States. This provision created great indignation in Canada, and as the imposition of an export duty was rendered practically impossible by the penal consequences provided against it, resort was had to the expedient of securing from the Ontario Government a Statute which required the manufacture in Canada of all logs cut from Government limits, or, in effect, which prohibited the export of logs. This provision, if it had been made a condition of sale, would have been within the right of the Government, though beyond doubt an unwise one; but the application of this provision, in the case of purchases already made for the express purpose of securing logs for export, was a breach of faith. The reason assigned for mak-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing the provision was, that the conditions under which licenses were issued permitted the Government to make regulations for the management of timber lands. This reserved power applied simply to regulations for fire protection, the reservation of the smaller sizes of timber, to ground rent, and to Crown Dues. This law has been retained in spite of protest, and has no doubt proved a serious obstacle in the way of the Canadian Commissioners, when seeking for a reduction or the removal of the lumber duties. The full effect of the law falls upon a class of men who are strongly in favor of securing either a reduction or a total abolition of the lumber duty, and it serves well the purpose of that great mass of American lumbermen who desire to exclude Canadian lumber from the American market.

It is a striking proof of the forbearance of the American Treasury Department that no notice has yet been taken of this law. With a logical interpretation of the proper mode of applying the provision of the Dingley Bill against export duty, unquestionably this flank movement for securing the same purpose, in the most drastic and high handed manner, would be considered as, *pro tanto*, an export duty, calling under the automatic provisions of the export duty proviso for an order from the Treasury Department, either prohibiting the importation of lumber from Canada, or increasing the duty upon lumber to the maximum rate of export duty which the Canadian Government may impose at pleasure by order in Council, this maximum rate being $3 per thousand feet, board measure.

The effect of this Ontario law has already been mischievous, it may be presumed, through its adverse influence upon negotiations, by the creation of a spirit of indignation on the part of the American Commissioners as relates to the law itself. It has, beyond question, shaken confidence in Canadian honor and good faith among American investors, and has led to the withholding of millions of capital designed for investment in Canada. American capitalists naturally feel that American investors in three million acres of pine land, whose investments were sought for, the purpose of whose investment was well known, whose intentions when making the investments were permitted to be carried out for years, and who were then abruptly confronted by an Act of practical confiscation, were made the victims of bad faith and were robbed by legislation of duly acquired property rights. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

natural inquiry on the part of the capitalists is, What security are we to suppose that we shall possess, if we make investments in Canadian enterprises, while some crazy freak of lunatic legislation may at any time paralyze them by regulations and restrictions relating to the management of the properties we thus acquire?

The selfishness and greed that demand resort to export duties and prohibition of export may soon work great mischief, unless effectually checked. The Ontario Export Embargo Law is likely to be imitated in other Provinces by laws of a similar character, applicable not only to saw logs and round timber, but to pulp wood and other forest products. A demand for an export duty upon nickel ore has been sedulously agitated by a clique of speculators who, acting upon the belief that Canada alone can supply nickel ore, think it possible to secure a monopoly of refining nickel. A demand for an export duty upon lead ores in the interest of local smelters is made, and the apparent tendency of the aggressive jingo spirit in Canada at this juncture is to have export embargo and export duties extended over a wide range of natural products, forest and mineral, as rapidly as possible.

Canada has many of the peculiarities of a spoiled child, and ventures upon many manifestations of these peculiarities, that would not be attempted but for trust in the protection of the Motherland. Many of its public men, and possibly a majority of its people, seem to lack all sense of proper proportion, when considering the adjustment of international conditions. The impossibility of the successful coercion of 75,000,000 people by 5,000,000 people is not understood. Foolish dreams of bringing the United States to terms by withholding saw logs, nickel, and other natural products, are indulged in. Our vagaries and our senseless impudence are a source of annoyance to English statesmen, who look at times with ill concealed disgust upon our actions.

Progress, however, is being made. Intelligence and moderation of view are characteristic of a fair proportion of the population. Periodical crazes will subside in due time, and if the United States were to adopt towards us a trade policy fairly responsive in liberality to our own general tariff policy towards them, an influence would be brought into action for promoting better understanding and more widely extended friendship, which would be more effective than all other influences combined.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.

BY G. MARCONI.

THE subject of wireless telegraphy has apparently caused some little interest among my friends and among the inhabitants generally of the vast continent of America; and it is with no small amount of pleasure that I comply with the request to write a few words relative to the experiments and installations which have been carried out under my supervision. I shall endeavor, in as brief space as possible, to place a few facts before my readers to enable them to grasp the means by which these experiments have been brought to such a practical and successful issue.

My first experiments were conducted in 1895, on my father's estate in Bologna, in Italy, and I was much surprised at the facility with which I found it possible to transmit messages without a wire for many miles. On coming to England on private business in 1896, I was advised by my friends and relations to give a demonstration of the capabilities of my invention to the British authorities, who gave me facilities to test the system; and we were soon doing nine miles across the Bristol Channel.

But, perhaps, at this point, it will not be out of place to give a brief description of the apparatus, avoiding technicalities as much as possible.

We will first take the transmitting or sending apparatus.

I used an ordinary 10-inch induction-coil, somewhat similar to the familiar shocking coil, but on a much larger scale. Connected to the terminals of the secondary winding, are two small spheres, about one or two centimeters apart. Between these spheres the spark passes and sets up the oscillations necessary for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the transmission of signals. When long distances are to be bridged, a vertical insulated conductor, suspended by means of a mast, is attached to one sphere, and the other sphere is connected with the earth. If an ordinary telegraphic key connecting a battery with the coil be pressed, the current from the battery is allowed to actuate the induction coil which charges the vertical conductor, and discharges across the gap separating the two spheres. This discharge is an oscillating one, and the insulated conductor becomes a powerful radiator of electric waves. It will be easy to see how, by pressing the key for long or short intervals, it is possible to emit a long or short succession of waves, which, when they influence the receiver, reproduce on it a long or short effect according to their duration, in this way reproducing Morse signals.

The principal point in my receiver is the sensitive tube or radio-conductor, or, as it is generally termed, the coherer. It consists of a small glass tube, about four centimeters in length, into which two silver plugs are tightly fitted. A small gap separates them, and in this gap a mixture of nickel and silver filings is placed. Under ordinary conditions, the resistance of this gap is too high to allow of any current passing from the local cell or battery; but, under the influence of electric waves, these filings instantly cohere, and the tube becomes a comparatively good conductor. Connected to this tube is a cell and a relay. By the cohesion of the filings, the current from the cell is allowed to pass through the tube and actuate the relay. When once this is achieved, it becomes a very simple matter to make a bell ring, or work an ordinary Morse inkwriter.

But one peculiarity with this cohesion of the filings, under the influence of an electric wave, is their power of remaining cohered unless tapped or shaken up. I have overcome this difficulty by using an automatic tapper or discoherer, which is somewhat similar to an electric bell tapper *minus* the bell. This is so adjusted as to tap the tube and shake the filings up, thus decohering them and bringing them to their normal condition, when they are again in a state to receive another impulse. This is worked by the relay and another local battery.

It will now be easy to follow the various actions which take place. The oscillations set up by the transmitter at the distant station act on the vertical conductor or resonator which is con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nected to the sensitive tube at the receiving station, cohere the filings in the tube, and allow the local cell to actuate the relay. The relay, in its turn, causes the larger battery to pass a current through the tapper or interrupter, and also through the electro magnets of the recording instrument. The practical result is that the receiver is actuated for a time equal to that during which the key is pressed at the transmitting station.

With apparatus as thus explained, and with the addition of a few important details which for brevity I shall not describe, I have made most of my experiments and worked numerous important installations.

After the experiments across the Bristol Channel, I gave some important demonstrations to the Italian naval authorities at Spezia. With the transmitter on shore and the receiver on board an Italian warship, a distance of twelve miles was bridged. A series of trials were also carried out with other ships, and between ship and ship, and the Italian Navy was not slow in permanently adopting my system.

On Salisbury Plain, I introduced kites as a means of raising and suspending the vertical conductor to a considerable altitude. In these experiments I attained my greatest distances—between Salisbury and Bath, a distance of thirty-four miles.

Immediately after this, I set up two experimental stations, one at Alum Bay, in the Isle of Wight, and the other at Bournemouth, the distance between them being fourteen miles, in order to test the practicability of the system under all conditions of weather, and also to afford an opportunity of proving that "Wireless Telegraphy" was not a myth but a working reality.

It has, apparently, been thought that the weather, or varying conditions of atmospheric electricity, may interfere with or stop the signals transmitted by this system; but experience of over fourteen months of continual every-day work has brought me to the conclusion that there is no weather which can stop or seriously interfere with the working of such an installation.

We have given demonstrations to several eminent scientists who came down, often when we did not expect them, but on no occasion have they found any difficulty in the work of transmitting and receiving messages between the two stations. Among others who inspected these stations, was Lord Kelvin; and he was kind enough to express himself as being highly pleased with what

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he saw. He sent several telegrams to his friends and insisted on paying one shilling royalty on each message, wishing in this way to show his appreciation of what was done, and to illustrate its fitness at that time for commercial purposes.

In July of last year, we gave an interesting demonstration at Kingstown Regatta, in reporting from a tug the results and incidents of the several yacht races. The relative positions of the various yachts were thus wirelessly signalled, while the races were in progress, sometimes over a distance of ten miles, and published long before the yachts had returned to harbor. On one of these excursions we had the company of several stock brokers and business men of Dublin, who transacted business on the receipt of the daily Stock Exchange quotations sent off from our shore station, much to the amusement of all on board.

After finishing at Kingstown, I had the honor of being asked to install wireless telegraphic communication between the royal yacht, "Osborne" and Osborne House, in the Isle of Wight, in order that Her Majesty might communicate with H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, who at the time was suffering from a fractured knee. Although quite hidden from one another by intervening hills and trees, constant and uninterrupted communication was maintained. These obstructions would have rendered direct signalling between the two positions impossible by means of any flag, semaphore or heliograph system.

In December of last year, it was thought desirable to demonstrate that the system was quite practical, and available for enabling telegraphic communication to be established between lightships and the shore. This is a matter of great importance. By the kind permission of the officials of Trinity House, we connected the East Goodwin Lightship—the outermost lightship guarding the dangerous Goodwin Sands—with the South Foreland light house, twelve miles apart. The apparatus was taken on board in an open boat and rigged up in one afternoon.

The installation started working from the very first without the slightest difficulty, and it has continued to work admirably through all the storms which during this year have been so severe. By its means two vessels have already received quick and valuable assistance. Both ran on the sands in a fog. The lightship noted their signals of distress, telegraphed for assistance, indicating the exact spot where it was required, and tugs and life-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

boats were soon rendering every aid. Various members of the crew have learned how to send and receive signals, and in fact run the station. Previous to our visit to the ship it is highly probable they had scarcely heard of wireless telegraphy, and were certainly unacquainted with even the rudiments of electricity. Their knowledge is very valuable when the assistant, who is a poor sailor, is unable to attend to the work himself.

The latest installation that I have fitted up is across the English Channel, between the South Foreland lighthouse and Boulogne, a distance of about thirty miles. This has worked with great success from the start, and at the present moment a message is being received respecting a vessel which has run on shore close to Wimereux. The French authorities are most enthusiastic over the results.

All the above experiments have been made with what we term the vertical wire system; but I think it would be desirable, before closing this summary of events, to bring before my readers some observations on the use of parabolic reflectors, as a means of controlling the propagation and intensifying the effects of the waves. As in ordinary optics, so also in the optics of electro-magnetic oscillations, it is possible to reflect the waves radiated from the oscillator in one definite direction only. The advantages obtainable by their use are obvious. With the vertical wire system, the waves have been allowed to radiate in all directions and would affect all suitable receivers within a certain radius, although it is possible by means of syntonising arrangements to prevent this to a certain extent.

By means of reflectors it is possible to project the waves in one almost parallel beam, which will not affect any receiver placed out of its line of propagation. This would enable several forts or islands to communicate with each other without any fear of the enemy's tapping or interfering with signals; for if the forts are situated on small heights, the beam of rays would pass above the position which might be held by an enemy.

The possibilities and importance of the uses to which these reflected radiations can be adapted are enormous. More especially will this system be applicable to enable ships to be warned by lighthouses, lightships or other vessels, not only of their proximity to danger, but also of the direction from which the warning comes.

G. MARCONI.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCIENTIFIC HISTORY AND FUTURE USES OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.

BY J. A. FLEMING, M. A., D. SC., F. R. S., PROFESSOR OF ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

PUBLIC attention, on both sides of the Atlantic, has recently been strongly directed to the possibilities of telegraphy through space, by the remarkable experiments of Signor G. Marconi. Taking advantage of well known scientific principles, together with very important and novel additions of his own, this ingenious inventor has startled the world by flinging telegraphic messages across thirty miles of sea, wrapt, it may be, in fog, or swept by storm, and recording, in the well known Morse telegraphic alphabet of dot and dash, the communications thus conveyed without continuous connecting wires or cables of any kind. Every thoughtful person desires to gain some glimpse of the means by which this feat has been performed, and some little guidance in prognosticating the future of the new telegraphy.

It is very seldom that a new scientific departure is rightly apprehended at first, in regard either to its uses or its methods.

Imagination is often carried captive by a novel process, and a speedy revolution of old methods is anticipated; or, on the other hand, it is decried as containing nothing new, and the inventor is set down as a mere user of other people's ideas. An inventor, be it remarked in passing, is not necessarily a person who does anything new. He is often one chiefly gifted with that poetic insight which enables him to carry out to their true logical issue familiar facts, or he casts a sudden flood of light on well known processes by some simple adaptation of known means.

In the present instance, this wonderful conveyance of intelligence through space by electrical means, between places not con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nected by the ordinary telegraphic wires, is the crowning achievement in a long series of scientific labors, the product of many minds and the outcome and reward of profound research.

Thoroughly to grasp the details and meaning of the whole process requires a scientific training and much acquaintance with physical research. It is, however, quite possible to convey a fairly correct notion of the nature of the operations involved to an ordinary reader who has patience to follow the argument.

Modern scientific research has conducted us to a position from which we see that the phenomena of the physical universe indicate three fundamental sources of all observed events, which form the underlying basis of the physical actions concerning which our senses inform us.

These great actualities are, respectively, matter, energy and ether. It is perfectly impossible to give any independent definitions of these things which shall be satisfactory to the metaphysician. Collectively speaking, the material objects we can handle and see, are, from the modern standpoint, the vehicles of energy in various forms; and every chemical or physical change we notice or can produce, is an exhibition of the changes in something called energy, associated with that which we call matter. A discussion of how far matter is entitled to a separate recognition, apart from energy, would be foreign to our present purpose, and would in any case plunge us into the seething caldron of metaphysical discussion. The chief fact of importance here necessary to note is, that the research of the present century has shown that large quantities of energy can be conveyed through space, or associated with that which we call a perfect vacuum. Hence has grown up the notion that space may not really be empty, but may have everywhere in it something which, like tangible matter, can be the vehicle of energy, though not possessing those qualities of ponderability, or power to affect directly our sense of touch, which characterizes that which we generally call material substance. This space-filling, non-material vehicle of energy is called the ether; and it is one of the most suggestive of modern physical conceptions, that the atoms which build up ordinary matter may even be only ether—in certain states of localized strain or motion. Leaving, however, the confines of speculation, we may say that the tendency of present day physical theory is to find, as our ultimate elements of analysis, in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dissecting the phenomena of the external world, three things, viz.: energy, ether and matter; all by us unalterable in total amount, but all susceptible of certain transformation, and each, by its interactions with the others, contributing to the processes which are the immediate precursors of our sense perceptions. The deeper we penetrate into the facts of Nature, the more we see that the only things we have a right to call real things lie far beneath the immediate objects of cognition.

Hence, research has wended its way by slow steps to that position from which we are able to recognize the validity of the assumption of a space-occupying ether, which now fills such an important position in existing physical hypotheses. Moreover, it has advanced from a position in which it was a mere vague speculation, called in, as it were, to cover up the difficulties involved in analyzing physical processes, to a position in which many converging lines of argument demand its postulation as a basis for the adequate explanation of effects.

The most philosophical minds have, however, always felt that, if the facts in more than one branch of physics separately taken seemed to necessitate the assumption of an ether, then it would be necessary to make the fundamental assumptions wide enough to make one ether sufficient for the explanation of all effects. Modern science has, therefore, banished all notions of manifold imponderable fluids; but, on the other hand, has deepened and strengthened the foundations on which has been built the hypothesis of one single sufficient ether. Now, this physical hypothesis grew up originally out of a study of optical phenomena; but the consideration of electrical and magnetic effects little by little forced physicists to the conclusion that luminous and electro-magnetic effects must be due to the same fundamental causes, and must therefore depend on the same ether.

When Prof. James Clerk Maxwell died at Cambridge, in November, 1879, he left as his most splendid intellectual legacy to the world his remarkable Electro-magnetic Theory of Light. At the beginning of the century, the original mind of Thomas Young, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Royal Institution, had laid a firm grasp upon this scientific hypothesis of an all pervading medium or ether, as an assumption which was necessitated by a critical study of optical facts. That conjecture was, by no means, a novel one. The notion of imponderable fluids or

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ethers had been a familiar one to natural philosophers, long before the researches of Young supplied fresh arguments for entertaining it as especially applicable in the case of optical effects. While we are probably indebted to Huyghens for first raising the conception of a luminous ether out of the dust of mere speculation to the level of a serious scientific hypothesis, it was by the researches of Young and his brilliant successors, among whom we may chiefly mention Fresnel, that it was placed upon the level of a theory to be tested and tried by the comparison of careful observations with mathematical deductions from the theory. The known fact that a ray of light takes time to travel from one place to another, and that this velocity, of about a thousand million feet a second, is everywhere and always the same, can only be explained in one of two ways. Either light must be a substance, emitted by luminous agents, which moves bodily from one place to another, or else it must be an action, transmitted from place to place through a medium. The crucial test which enabled a critical decision to be made between these two assumptions, was supplied by a principle first made known by Young. Without entering into highly technical details, suffice it to say that, under proper conditions, two rays of light, falling together on the same spot, may actually produce darkness instead of enhanced luminosity. In other words, light added to light may result in an absence of light. We are not able to conceive of any manner in which identical substances could thus annihilate each other, but we are abundantly familiar with cases in which one motion can destroy an equal and opposite motion, or a pressure or force annul an equal and opposite pressure or force.

Moreover, all subsequent investigation has shown that, along the path followed by a ray of light, there is some kind of periodical change or action constantly repeated, and also simultaneously occurring at certain regular intervals. In the early and middle parts of this century, experimentalists and mathematicians built up a body of irrefutable proof that the agent we call light must consist, in some kind, of very rapid and repeated change taking place in a universe-filling medium. For instance, along the path of a ray of light which produces a sensation of red when it falls upon our eyes, the same kind of changes or actions are being repeated at any one point about 400 billion times a second, and the same actions are being simultaneously performed at

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

places about one forty-thousandth of an inch apart. The former number is called the *frequency* of the light, and the latter its *wave-length*. The process of handing on from point to point this particular kind of action or motion is called a wave-motion, and the speed with which it is propagated is called the wave velocity. It is impossible to do more here than merely enunciate the fact, that no optical effects, however complicated, have yet been found which cannot be deduced as consequences of the assumption of the existence of a space-occupying medium, capable of having produced in it a wave-motion, but subject to affection by the presence of material substances. It is difficult at first for the non-scientific mind to grasp the idea that space, as we call it, may thus be full of an ever moving, but non-tangible, material, and that, in truth, no such thing as a true vacuum, or space absolutely void of everything, does or perhaps can exist.

Another line of argument leading to the same conclusion is found as follows: One of the great intellectual triumphs of the nineteenth century has been the elaboration and proof that, in association with mere material substances, we have something else called energy, which we can neither create nor destroy, but which presents itself under many forms. Energy, like matter, is subject to a law of conservation; that is to say, we are unable, by our unaided human powers, to alter the total amount of it. Energy, however, must be thought of as an entity or measurable article, which can exist in many diverse types, and which can be transformed from one type to another. A swiftly moving train or cannon ball, for instance, is an exhibition of energy in association with matter, but this particular form of energy can only be obtained by the transformation of some other kind of energy; in the one case, by putting out of existence the energy associated with a given weight of coal in air, and, in the other, with a given mass of gunpowder. We have no experience of Energy separated from Matter of some kind, and we do not know whether they can so exist. Without entering into discussions beyond the region of physical science, it may be sufficient for our purpose to state that, in modern Chemistry and Physics, Matter is regarded as the vehicle of Energy. Hence, if we find Energy passing through space, or associated with that which we are in the habit of calling empty space, we can only conceive of it as so doing if there is something there to carry or convey it. In order that a wave-mo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion or impulse may be communicated through a material medium, it must possess elasticity and inertia. In virtue of the first, it resists some kind of deformation, and, in consequence of the latter property, its parts tend to continue moving when once in motion. We see this in the case of water. The water surface resists being heaped up or made unlevel, and it persists in motion when once moved. Hence, it can have waves produced on it, varying from ripples to billows in wave-length. In the same way the air resists compression and expansion, and it also possesses inertia. Accordingly, it can have a pulsatory or wave-motion produced on it, and this constitutes sound, when it affects our organs of hearing. The known fact that wave-motion can exist in the ether led philosophers, therefore, to conclude that ether possessed properties analogous to elasticity and density. But no one had been able to show, by direct experiment, that ether had those qualities, because it only affects, indirectly, one organ of sense, the eye, and that only by reason of the existence of waves in it of a certain wave-length.

Clerk Maxwell, however, was led by profound reasoning to the conclusions, that the qualities of the ether which correspond to that which we call the elastic pliability of matter, and its density or massiveness, are in reality the electric and magnetic qualities of space, in virtue of which it permits an electric displacement to be made through it, and also what is called a magnetic flux. Faraday had shown that the process commonly called charging a conductor with electricity, was in reality only the effect of producing in the surrounding insulator an electric strain or polarization, subsequently called an electric displacement. This displacement is produced by an agency called electric force; and, when the force is removed, the displacement disappears. The quality of the space, whether filled with matter or ether, which permits the electric displacements to take place under the action of the electric force, is called its electric pliability.

In the same manner, Maxwell identified the other well-known property of space, in virtue of which magnetic force can create in it a state called magnetic flux, as the analogue of the density or inertia of matter. This quality is called the magnetic permeability. Building upwards from well known facts, Maxwell showed that, since space filled only with ether has these two qualities of electric pliability and magnetic permeability, it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should be possible to produce as free ether waves by means of electric force, and that these electric waves would be propagated with the velocity of light.

This magnificent theory remained, however, unverified, experimentally, until 1887, when Heinrich Hertz gave to the world the results of his splendid researches on the production of electric waves. Hertz showed that, if two conductors were charged, respectively, with positive and negative electricity, and then allowed to discharge each other with the production of a small electric spark between them, this action produced, under proper conditions, an electric wave which was propagated out into space. Just as a stone dropped into water makes a splash when it enters the surface, and generates a series of expanding ripples, so the electric spark, under certain conditions, makes what is virtually a splash in the ether, and sends out a series of ether waves. A spark of this kind is called an oscillatory spark. In order to detect these waves, Hertz invented a receiver or detector, consisting of a nearly closed loop of wire, the ends being furnished with metal balls almost touching one another. When held in a proper position, the passage of an electric wave through this Hertz detector creates a minute spark between the balls. Aided by this apparatus, Hertz showed that these electric waves possessed all the properties of light, although unable to affect the eye. They moved with the same speed and could be reflected, and refracted, like rays of visible light. Lodge, Fitzgerald, Trouton, Sarasin, de la Reve, Bose and many other physicists extended these results, and proved an absolute identity in nature between the rays of light by which we see and these invisible Hertz waves.

Subsequently to Hertz's lamented early death, others have invented and improved the means of detecting Hertz waves. Of notable importance was the observation of Professor Calzecchi Onesti, of Fermo, in 1885, and Professor E. Brauly, of Paris, in 1891, that a mass of metallic filings or powdered metal is a nonconductor of the electric current in its ordinary state, but may become converted into a conductor when an electric wave falls upon it. This device, modified and improved, now forms the sensitive organ or artificial eye for seeing and detecting these Hertz waves. It is usually called a coherer.

Starting from these known facts, Marconi began, a few years ago, to elaborate the details of his system of wireless telegraphy,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and to make additions by which delicate, uncertain and difficult laboratory experiments were converted into practical processes, possessed of all the qualities of certainty and precision which are the essential conditions for industrial use. The most important addition which he made to knowledge, was the discovery that the coherer becomes vastly more sensitive to the presence of ether waves, if it has attached to its ends two long wires; or, better still, if it is inserted in between a long vertical wire and the earth. Marconi's present arrangements, therefore, for wireless telegraphy are as follows:—At each of the two stations between which communication is to be made, a long rod or wire is set up. This wire is, generally, a stranded copper cable, well insulated, and is attached either to a flagstaff or the mast of a ship, or hung from a chimney, tower or cliff. The height of this wire is determined by the distance to be worked over. At present, Marconi finds that a rod twenty feet high enables him to signal one mile, one forty feet high four miles, one eighty feet high sixteen miles, and so forth. He is, however, continually making improvements, which have for their object the reduction of the necessary height of rod. At each station, there is also established the receiving and transmitting apparatus. The latter consists of an induction coil, technically termed a ten-inch spark coil, and it is provided with two spark balls. The coil is worked by a battery of dry cells; and, when in action, it creates an electric discharge between the two spark balls in the form of a bright electric spark. These spark balls are placed half an inch apart. In the circuit of the battery is placed a contact key, by pressing which the operator can set the coil in action and make electric sparks, or rather series of sparks, of long or short duration.

The operation of transmitting ether waves is then as follows:—The long vertical wire is connected to one terminal or spark ball of the coil, and the other spark ball is connected by a wire with the earth. On pressing the key, a torrent of sharp, crackling sparks passes between the balls, and in the long vertical wire electrical oscillations are set up which result in a series of electric waves being sent out into space. The duration of this wave production can be determined by making long or short contacts with the key. We must, therefore, think of this long wire as a kind of organ pipe, which emits ethereal music, and sends out an ether wave train of long or short duration, just as a fog horn

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sends out sound waves, when sound signals are made at sea. The receiving instrument consists of a very sensitive coherer. In a small glass tube are fixed two silver wires which nearly touch, and the interspace is occupied with a minute quantity of finely powdered nickel and silver. Marconi has introduced numerous improvements into the manufacture of this appliance, and each of his coherers is tested most carefully, prior to use at signalling stations. The sensitive tube is joined in series with a battery and a telegraphic relay, this last being an apparatus for setting in action an ordinary telegraphic Morse printing instrument by means of an exceedingly feeble electric current. When it is desired to receive signals, the sensitive tube has one end connected to the long vertical wire and the other to the earth. The waves sent out from the distant station then fall upon the vertical receiving wire, run down it and affect the coherer, causing it to become a conductor for the moment, and so permits a feeble current to pass through it, which, through the action of the relay, is made to print a signal upon a strip of paper. This signal is either a dot or a dash, according to the period during which ether waves are falling upon the wire. After each signal, the coherer is brought back to its original condition by a tap administered automatically by a little hammer. Thus pressures, long or short, upon the key of the induction coil at the distant place, cause marks, long or short, to be made upon a paper strip at the receiving instrument, and these are interpreted into intelligible signals in accordance with the recognized Morse code.

Such, then, in outline, is the system which Marconi has developed for utilizing ether waves for telegraphic purposes. It remains to indicate briefly its limitations and possible uses.

Marconi's experiments at the South Foreland Lighthouse, where a flagstaff 150 feet high was erected, in correspondence with a similar one in France—a vertical insulated wire being also run up the mast of the East Goodwin Lightship, with which communications are held—are being conducted in a little room not ten feet square, which is part of the dynamo and engine house of the Lighthouse. On a small deal kitchen table stands the apparatus for transmitting and receiving, the value of which, excluding the flagstaff, would easily be covered by five hundred dollars. Here, all day, for the past few weeks, experiments have been conducted without the smallest hitch or failure.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At the rate of fifteen or eighteen words a minute, messages are flashed backwards and forwards between the operators, sitting on either side of the Channel. Neither fog, rain, mist nor driving storm interrupts the communication. Marconi says that the signals are even better and sharper during rain. Not only is there communication with France, but even more important with the Goodwin Lightship. The operator on board the ship can call up and ring an electric bell at South Foreland by simply touching his key. The Lighthouse is in telephonic communication with the Ramsgate Lifeboat House. An attendant now sleeps by the instrument at South Foreland. If the East Goodwin Lightship, twelve miles off, notices signals of distress from any ship caught in the destroying grip of those terrible sands, one touch on the key suffices to call up the attendant at South Foreland, and a short message notifies the whereabouts of the wreck. The South Foreland telegraphist then telephones down to Ramsgate and dispatches the Life Boat on its rescuing errand. Quite lately the Trinity House Brethren have made a most careful inspection of the system, and were very favorably impressed with its simplicity and certainty. It can only be a matter of time before every lightship and lighthouse will be kept in touch with the coast.

It has been contended that this method of telegraphy has no utility, because each receiver can be disturbed by vagrant ether waves made in the neighborhood. This objection, however, has very little force. Ordinary telegraphic communication with wires could also be upset if mischievous persons cut wires or sent private electric currents into them. Public opinion and a few simple legislative enactments will, however, be sufficient to meet this supposed difficulty.

The creation of a complete independence for each station, and the localization of the wave or determination of its field of action, have not yet been entirely achieved. Where two transmitting stations are at very different distances, it is always possible to differentiate their actions by the use of two receiving rods of different heights at the receiving station. Thus, if at South Foreland two rods were set up, one 150 feet high and one 70 feet high, each with its receiving instrument, the attendant at South Foreland could distinguish signals from France twenty-eight miles away or the Goodwins twelve miles away, as follows: If both receivers acted, then he would know the signals were

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

coming from the Goodwins, and he would switch off the longer rod and cut France out of circuit. If only the receiver of the longer rod acted he would then know the signals were coming from France. Signor Marconi has made some progress in utilizing reflectors for limiting the direction of the wave, but there is still a great field open for invention.

Lastly, one or two words must be said as to the immediate future of the invention. There is no question that for communication between ships at sea, between lightships and lighthouses and the shore, and between ships and coast guard stations there is a wide field of utility open to it at once. It will economically replace short submarine cables in a few instances, or perhaps be supplementary to them in case of breakdown. It will enable communication to be cheaply established to islands and places where the traffic is not great enough to carry the expense of a submarine cable, and it will, without doubt, be adopted in some form in naval and military operations. It will never replace entirely telegraphy with wires, because the use of the continuous wire secures a privacy not otherwise to be obtained. From one point of view, the difference between wireless telegraphy and telegraphy with wires is the same as the difference between a post card, or open letter, and a sealed one. The continuous wire is like the envelope of the letter. It prevents the diffusion of the information beyond certain limits. The future, however, will slowly unroll the scope and limitations of this new telegraphy. Its practical uses are indubitable, but it has a wider interest from a scientific standpoint, in that it opens up a vista of fascinating speculation as to the possible revelations in store for us concerning the powers and potencies of this mysterious ether.

Archæologists speak to us of a stone age, a bronze age and an iron age in the history of the world; but the Twentieth Century will surely claim the title to be called the Ether Age, as "knowledge grows from more to more" concerning the nature of this universal, hidden and yet most subtle, medium, in which ripples are the revealing rays of light, and billows are the ether waves we are learning to employ.

J. A. FLEMING.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED